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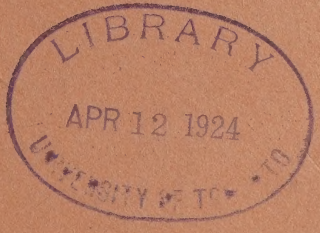
Hammond, James Henry

JAMES HENRY HAMMOND
1807-1864

BY
ELIZABETH MERRITT

A DISSERTATION
Submitted to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins University in Conformity with the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
1921



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PREFACE

James Henry Hammond of South Carolina was active in the political life of his State from 1828 to 1860. He was in office only a few years, representative in 1836, governor 1842–1844, senator from 1857 to 1860, but his office-holding was by no means a measure of his importance. During nullification times he was the leader of his district and a favored lieutenant of Hayne and Calhoun and Hamilton. His unavailing fight for the governorship in 1840 showed that he was one of the strong men of the State. Just at the close of his governorship he wrote to Thomas Clarkson, the British anti-slavery agitator, two letters in defense of African slavery as it existed. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of these letters upon the general defense of slavery and upon Hammond's reputation. He was a leader in the cooperation movement in South Carolina from 1850 to 1852. In 1857, after a complete retirement for half a decade, he was sent to the United States Senate by an overwhelming vote. During his senatorship he made, in the Senate or at home, several widely heralded speeches in support of his cherished idea of a Southern nation. In precipitating the final crisis of December 20, 1860, Hammond played no part because he did not believe that the movement would succeed at that time, and he was never willing to countenance such an isolated movement as Rhett and Maxcy Gregg favored in 1850–1852. The study here presented is an attempt to show that there was in South Carolina a distinct body of public opinion, respectable in numbers and in eminence, which from nullification in 1832 to secession in 1860 was working for a united South, for a Southern Nation.

I shall content myself with naming, not all who have helped me, but only those without whom this life of Ham-

mond could not have been written. First comes Dean John H. Latané, under whose direction the work has been done. Another is John C. Fitzpatrick of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, known and honored of all American workers with manuscripts. In a peculiar sense do I owe gratitude to the surviving members of the Hammond family, who so graciously put themselves at my disposal.

E. M.

JAMES HENRY HAMMOND, 1807-1864.

CHAPTER I

Youth and Entrance into Politics

James Henry Hammond could trace his Hammond ancestry back for seven generations with entire certainty. The first Hammond in America was Benjamin, son of William Hammond of London, and of Elizabeth Penn, sister of the great admiral and aunt of William Penn. After his father's death, Benjamin left England with his mother and three sisters, and came in 1634 to Sandwich, Massachusetts. In Massachusetts the family lived and flourished for four or five generations. In 1774, while Ebenezer, the great grandson of the first Benjamin, was living in New Bedford, his eldest son Elisha was born on October tenth.[1] Of the early life of Elisha Hammond nothing is known save that he graduated from Dartmouth in 1802, when he was nearly or quite twenty-eight years old. That is several years above the average age even for this day; it was almost ten years older than that of a century ago. It was probably poverty which caused this late graduation, for later testimony to his ability and scholarship as a teacher preclude the idea that he lacked brains.

In 1803 Elisha Hammond left Massachusetts and came to South Carolina to teach in the recently established Methodist Mt. Bethel Academy. In 1803, education, especially higher education,[2] in the upper country of South Carolina was

[1] During the battle of Bunker Hill, Ebenezer Hammond, his wife and child were all three imprisoned in Boston, and the tale is told that Mrs. Hammond, a high-spirited, nervous woman, anxious for the safety of her brothers whom she knew were in the battle, dropped the baby Elisha to the floor at the first sound of cannon-fire.

[2] For the whole subject of Higher education in South Carolina, see Colyer Meriwether's "History of Higher Education in South Carolina," in Contributions to American Educational History, Bureau of Education, vol. i, No. 4.

most imperfect. Mt. Bethel was one of the earliest classical schools in the region and quickly gained wide reputation under Professor Hammond. It furnished to South Carolina College its first students and graduates, says O'Neall, and gave to the country[3] such men as Judge Crenshaw, his brothers Dr. Crenshaw, and Walter Crenshaw, Chancellor Harper, John Caldwell, Esq., Governor Richard Manning, N. R. Eaves of Chester, and Thomas Glover of Orangeburg.[4] It also gave to South Carolina College an excellent man to fill one of the professorships. On April 25, 1805, Elisha Hammond was selected professor of modern languages. Judge Evans, who was a student there in the elder Hammond's day, says that he was captivating in manner and in appearance and that he was hardly less popular than the great Doctor Maxcy himself.

In 1806 Elisha Hammond married Miss Catherine Fox Spann of Edgefield District. The Spann family is widely scattered over South Carolina, and the Fox family, of which Mrs. Hammond's mother was a member, was connected with that of Charles James Fox. Mrs. Hammond, if we may judge from her portrait which hangs today on the wall of Redcliffe, was a woman of immense force and decided personality. No weakling could have had the chin the picture shows. It is altogether probable, as a present-day member of the family suggested, that James Henry inherited from his father his brains and from his mother his energy.

For some reason college life was not agreeable to Professor Hammond, despite his popularity. On January 31, 1807, he resigned and returned to Newberry. Here he lived until 1815. And here at Stoney Battery, Newberry, was born November 15, 1807, his eldest and best-known son, James Henry.[5] During Hammond's childhood his father turned

[3] Need it be said that by "country" O'Neall meant South Carolina?
[4] O'Neall and Chapman, Annals of Newberry, p. 53.
[5] James H. Hammond's name was certainly James Henry and not James Hamilton, though some secondary authorities and some of the Library of Congress cards in the catalogue have it James Hamilton. The mistake arose I know not how, but it was made possible by the

his hand to many things. For some years he was principal of Mt. Bethel, where he had taught before he went to the college. Later, or possibly at the same time, he was a farmer. He kept a store there, too. At the time of his death in 1829, he was principal of New Macon Academy in Macon, Georgia. The little boy grew up as small boys do today, going to school to his father, playing around the store, driving the cows and riding his father's oxen. Years after, he used to tell his own children about seeing the great teams, which had carried cotton to market, unloading goods at his home, which had been hauled all the way from Philadelphia.[6]

Young James H. Hammond's early education was got from his father, who was a fine scholar and, from all accounts, an unusually gifted teacher. Though he speaks with such concentrated bitterness in later years of his childhood and early schooling,[7] he must have had, even then, something of the mental capacity of his prime, for he was able in 1823, when he was barely sixteen, to enter the Junior class of the South Carolina College. In 1823 when Hammond entered South Carolina College, Thomas Cooper, the learned, ingenious, scientific, talented madcap was its president. Not yet had he begun to shock the minds of Carolinians as he was to do in a few years, until he was put upon his trial. Taught by such men, a talented boy like Hammond could hardly avoid learning and doing well. His graduation standing was fourth in a class which numbered at the end thirty-three members, among them John Gist, Randell Hunt, and Bishop Stephen Elliott, and which LaBorde described as signalizing the year by its "uncommon talent."[8] Hammond's extra-curricular activities, unexpectedly modern in direction, prove that he was no cloistered

fact that he never signed his name more fully than James H. His tombstone inscriptions and the names of his namesake grandchildren and great grandchildren settle the point.

[6] O'Neall & Chapman, p. 540; Columbia, South Carolina, Telescope, July 24, 1829.

[7] Hammond Diary, February 15, 1841.

[8] LaBorde, History of the South Carolina College, 2nd ed., p. 134.

student. He was noted in college, so he tells us, as a roost-robber, and though the pleasantly garrulous LaBorde does not say so, he no doubt made one of the number of students who annoyed the old Professor by shouting and singing on the campus too late at night. He belonged to the Euphradian Society, made speeches for it, wrote a play for it, and was selected to deliver the valedictory oration for his society. Of the oration nothing whatever is known, not even the title.[9]

In the spring of 1826, Hammond left Columbia and spent a year or more wandering about, as he says, "teaching school in Orangeburg at Popular Spring and near Cheraw in the family of C. B. Pegues, Esq."[10] Hammond was never a really happy man, but he was at no time more entirely sunk in black despair than during this first period of his independent existence. He was young, barely nineteen at most, he had no old friends in Orangeburg, and he lacked entirely that love of teaching which would have enabled him to endure the certain discomforts of the teacher in a little country school. His friend, Loughton Ramsay, had just died of smallpox in Charleston. Small wonder, then, to hear him say: "The tear which had been shed at the grave of poor Ramsay may . . . be succeeded by another which shall water *our* graves. . . . I often almost wish *to die*. My soul pants to throw off the weight of mortality."[11]

Returning from this unhappy school-teaching, Hammond began to read law in Columbia and then in Augusta, Georgia. It was dry work, for he did not enjoy it, and he had what his friend Hayne called "interfering wishes."[12] Quite probably also, Hammond was fonder of society and of the ladies than of law's dry study. In 1827, politics was beginning to attract him. In 1824 the tariff had passed by an almost strictly sectional vote. In the summer of 1827,

[9] John F. Hammond to J. H. Hammond, October 13, 1845; Paul F. Hammond, Memoir of J. H. Hammond, p. 1; Roland Hammond; Hammond Family, p. 269.
[10] Diary, February 6, 1841.
[11] Hammond to T. J. Withers, May 20, 1826.
[12] I. W. Hayne to Hammond, September 1, 1827.

Calhoun as president of the Senate delivered the casting vote which defeated the woolens bill. The papers were full of the tariff controversy. Hammond spent part of his time in Augusta writing for the Augusta Chronicle, yet some time in 1828, after not more than a year of study, Hammond was admitted to the bar in Columbia.[13] He opened his law office there, "without a friend who could in the slightest advance my fortunes & steeped to the lips in poverty. Without a name without a family connection," his practice was almost at once more lucrative and successful than he could have expected.[14]

But an active, keen-minded, patriotic Carolina lawyer could not possibly, in the years close following 1828, confine his energies to his practice. Too much of importance to any man who loved his country was going on, both at Washington and in South Carolina. In May, 1828, the Tariff of Abominations became a law despite the almost unanimous opposition of the Southern members of Congress. At once, in every district of South Carolina arose meetings and resolutions of protest to Congress. The Legislature of the State under Calhoun's guidance, if not at his direct behest, passed a solemn protest against "the system of protecting duties lately adopted by the Federal Government," and claimed for the State the right to enter on the Senate journal a protest against it as "unconstitutional oppressive and unjust."[15]

In the universal excitement of 1829 in South Carolina Hammond was an interested participant. His letters of the period are few, but there remains the full text of an "Oration Delivered in the Presbyterian Church . . . [July 4, 1829] By James H. Hammond, Columbia, S. C."[16] Let the

[13] In those days in South Carolina a lawyer had to be admitted separately to law and to equity practice, though the applicants invariably took both examinations. Hammond did this, and his two certificates hang at this day (1919) in the law office in Columbia of his namesake grandson.

[14] Diary, April 19, 1836.

[15] Cong. Deb., 1828–1829, pp. 52–58.

[16] Full manuscript in Hammond papers, Library of Congress.

South, he said, stop boasting, and find an explanation for her superiority. She must defend her inheritance. The North was overbearing and the South chafed. The worst had passed—he thought Calhoun's "Exposition," the "Protest" of the South Carolina legislature, and the election of Jackson would end the trouble—but let every one take warning and annihilate oppression at its birth.

"The moment one section of this country permits itself to [be] insulted & trampled on without resisting it—the Union is dissolved inevitably and forever. . . . Our present political institutions—which God forbid—may be destroyed," but liberty and equality will survive. Did he see some thirty years ahead? And did he on November 11, 1860, think of his early oration?

In early July of 1829, a Carolinian might think the situation better. Six months later he could not possibly do so. Jackson's first message favored distributing among the States the surplus revenue left after debts were paid. Nothing could more surely perpetuate the tariff system than some effective means of employing the surplus. The appointment of VanBuren and of Eaton to the cabinet made it certain that Calhoun's influence with Jackson would be small. The refusal of Calhoun to receive Mrs. Eaton in any way increased Jackson's bitterness toward him. The prospect that the worst had passed grew fainter and fainter.

Up to 1830 Hammond had not, he admitted, been a warm politician. Indeed he had not been warmly interested in anything he was doing, whether it was college, teaching or studying law. But the questions of the day were compellingly exciting. He threw himself into the nullification controversy with his whole heart and began his political career by starting in Columbia a new paper called the Southern Times. The new paper was owned by Spencer J. McMorris, and edited, although his name does not appear in it, by Hammond.

The Times adopted a clear South Carolina attitude and took a South Carolina view of Southern grievance. It

opposed internal improvements, opposed a tariff of any kind for any reason and demanded a return to the Constitution of 1789 and "the union of our fathers." Internal improvements and tariffs had been enacted in the last ten years, for the avowed purpose of protecting the interests of one section and one class, contrary to the letter and spirit of the constitution.[17]

In 1830 Hammond was not in favor of disunion in his public utterances and there is no reason to suppose that his private sentiments were different. The mere suggestion and the serious argument of disunion made his editorial blood "run . . . cold with apprehension" of the crisis it indicated. Indeed, he did not believe that any one was really looking toward disunion. The politicians were only threatening it in order to arouse the people to their danger, to show them whither unchecked Northern aggression might carry them.

A point which Hammond emphasized again and again in his editorials was the ground on which to oppose the tariff. Previous opposition had been based more on its effect on South Carolina pocket books than on its constitutionality. That, said Hammond, was the wrong argument. "We go upon higher ground. We are struggling for principle. We demand an abandonment of the power which Congress has assumed to pass the law." "If the law be constitutional," he very wisely said, "what right have we to speak of resistance."[18] He dwelt upon the indubitable fact that all South Carolina had done so far had been in accordance with the letter of the Constitution. If this point could be made clear to the people, he felt, they would lose their fear that the proposed convention[19] had not a peaceful

[17] Southern Times, January 29, 1830, first issue.

[18] Ibid., February 4, 22, 1830.

[19] Early in 1830, the nullification discussion had progressed to the very practical point where some method must be found to bring about the nullification of the law now held objectionable. The logical method was by convention. Accordingly the nullifiers began to urge that a convention of the State be called that winter by the legislature, the only competent body. In the main, nullifiers favored a convention

intent. And he judged wisely in so thinking. One of his correspondents wrote in September that whenever he had had a chance to explain to the skeptical small farmers the difference between popular constitutional resistance to an unconstitutional law, and rebellion against an oppressive but constitutional one, and to show that the proposed convention was only to assert the unconstitutionality of the tariff and to try to get rid of it, the doubters were converted at once.[20]

Even so early as this Hammond had the pleasantest confidential relations with the leaders of the nullification movement. Hayne wrote to him privately predicting the happiest effects for the course he had laid out for his paper.[21] F. W. Pickens told him the secret of his authorship of the successful "Hampden" articles and was glad when Hammond said he would republish them in his paper.[22] Even so prominent a man as Eldred Simkens, Sr., Calhoun's law partner, did not know, though he suspected, who Hampden was. Calhoun knew the good work Hammond was doing.

The Times was too effective in the cause in which it believed to receive the contemptuous silence of its opponents. Early in 1830 Hammond became involved in a serious difficulty with General James Blair, member of Congress from Camden District. Blair had been among the boldest and most vigorous in his anti-tariff sentiments; but on May 30, he wrote from Washington that he thought prospects were much better, inasmuch as salt and molasses duties had been reduced, a proposition to subscribe for B. & O. Railroad stock laid on the table, and the Maysville bill vetoed, that although the President's message might have been a little more "'tight-laced,'" yet for Southern political purposes it was "'efficient.'" This letter was published in the Camden Journal and was later republished in the Southern Times

and unionists did not, although some antitariff union men favored it and some nullifiers did not think it could go far enough.

[20] B. F. Whitner to Hammond, September 11, 1830.

[21] Robert Y. Hayne to Hammond, February 25, 1830.

[22] F. W. Pickens to Hammond, March 8, 13, 1830.

with editorial comment denying that the South owed Jackson anything for his Maysville veto, and saying that the proposed distribution would, if carried into effect, "annihilate the Union and the South." "Were it not that we have heard of such places as Lynch's Creek and Flat Rock within his ridings we should be at an utter loss to account for it."

Blair's reply was full of bluster and bad-tempered abuse of Hammond and of the Times. To the innuendo that his constituency were too dull to understand that he had changed his stand, he retorted that Hammond was a blackguard. Several other epithets were exchanged between the two and the controversy came to the notice of Hammond's friends. They were of course much disturbed at the prospect of a duel, but they felt that Blair deserved to be denounced for his open desertion of his avowed principles, and that consequently Hammond's reputation would not suffer in the least. A challenge was sent and accepted, and a meeting on the usual terms set for August 18, on the North Carolina line near Lancaster Court House. The meeting, however, never occurred, for the Camden Anti-Duelling Association arranged a suspension of the challenge and a discussion of the difficulties. It was at length held that an amicable settlement was honorable to both parties. Hammond's friends had not believed Blair would really fight, but nevertheless they were extremely glad to have the trouble settled in a peaceful manner, and they felt that he had, indeed, the verdict of the people with him.[23]

A little later a Camden editor named Daniel spoke bitterly of Hammond, and accordingly, Hammond went to Camden with a friend and horse-whipped the caustic fellow. What the difficulty was, I do not know, nor yet why Hammond, who had at least a full share of Carolina punctilio in matters of honor, chose to use a whip on him instead of a pistol. It may be that then as now a Northerner—the editor was from the North—especially one who came South, was of an

[23] Account derived from the pamphlet "controversy between General James Blair and James H. Hammond, Esq., 1830, from the Southern Times" and from the Hammond MSS. of July–August, 1830.

altogether different race, and did not come within the code reserved for white men.[24]

During the fall of 1830 the editorial course of the Times was the subject of much private abuse, mainly from men who were not thoroughly with Hammond in politics. Some men even went so far as to urge a crusade against it and one friend of Hammond wrote that he had more than once had to pledge himself for the gentlemanly character of the editor. He seemed to think the matter serious enough to bring to Hammond's attention.[25] But the paper was read. Hammond worked it up to two thousand subscribers, a very good circulation for the time and place.[26]

A rumor that Hammond contemplated leaving South Carolina distressed the State Rights leaders. McDuffie wrote praising the Times in high terms, calling it "all important in the present crisis" and "the ablest journal in the state."[27] Governor Hamilton "earnestly implore[d] . . . [him] not to think of leaving the Country."[28] He became more than ever high in the councils of the State Rights party.[29]

By May, 1830, the question of convention or no convention was the main question at issue, and by July 4, parties were forming for and against; the convention position of a candidate for the legislature determined his election. On September 20, 1830, there was a big pro-convention meeting at Columbia, an indication that the interior

[24] I have heard a present-day Southerner of the finest type speak casually of "Yankees" and "white men," and, being questioned, affirm, with a smile to be sure, that there are three kinds of men, white men, negroes and—Yankees.

[25] Bird M. Pearson to Hammond, October 1, 1830.

[26] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, April 18, 1848.

[27] George McDuffie to Hammond, February 6, 1831.

[28] James Hamilton, Jr. to Hammond, April 8, 1831. An unconscious revelation of the boundaries of a Carolinian's "Country" in 1831.

[29] James Hamilton, Jr. to Hammond, January 8 & 10, February 5, 1831; John C. Calhoun to Hammond, January 15, February 16, 1831; George McDuffie to Hammond, February 6, 1831; Wm. R. Hill to Hammond, March 13, 1831; S. D. Miller to Hammond, March 29, 1831.

wanted a convention even though Charleston was against it, as indeed it apparently was.[30] The September elections for city officers returned, though by a close vote, an entire Union ticket, and for the legislature returned eleven Union men and six State Rights men.[31] When the legislature met, the vote on the question of convention or no convention was in the Senate 23 for, 18 against; in the House 60 for, 56 against, in all slightly less than the required two-thirds. So the convention was not called that year.[32]

When the legislature failed to vote for a convention, it nevertheless resolved among other things that a State, whenever it could no longer look for aid against unconstitutional acts to other sources, could "interpose in its sovereign capacity, for the purpose of arresting the progress of the evil occasioned by the said unconstitutional acts."[33] The natural corollary of this resolution was a campaign by the State Rights party to convince the State that hope of redress from Congress was ungrounded, for then, according to the apparent meaning of the resolution just referred to, the State stood pledged to action. This Hammond saw at once, and he proceeded to act upon it, even before Calhoun had had time to suggest it to him.[34]

But early in 1831 Hammond was thinking of other and pleasanter things than newspapers, tariffs and even his new position on Governor Hamilton's staff. Early in 1830 he had met Miss Catherine E. Fitzsimmons, daughter of Christopher Fitzsimmons of Charleston, and he fell in love with her at once. There was opposition; Miss Fitzsimmons was extremely young, hardly sixteen when she was married, the younger daughter of a wealthy Charleston

[30] Charleston feared that a convention would not confine itself to Federal relations, but would disturb the ratio between up country and low country in the legislature.

[31] Charleston Courier, September 7, October 14, 15, 1830.

[32] Ibid., December 20; Mercury, December 22, 1830.

[33] Resolutions published in the Times, December 17, 23, 1830.

[34] James Hamilton, Jr., to Hammond, January 8, 1831; John C. Calhoun to Hammond, January 15, 1831.

merchant.[35] Hammond was a poor young lawyer-editor, a most disturbing combination. He was an upper-country State Rights man, and Fitzsimmons' residence and occupation leave little room to doubt that he was a Unionist. For a time the opposition was serious and it was one of the strong reasons, the strongest, probably, why Hammond contemplated removing to Alabama. But the family consented at last. The wedding took place at Columbia on June 23, 1831,[36] and Hammond and his wife retired from the city to live at Silver Bluff on the Savannah River some miles below Augusta.

His marriage to a low country heiress made possible some very pleasant changes in Hammond's circumstances. He retired from the practice of law, which with the course of time and the progress of excitement had come to occupy less and less of his time and thought. His paper he handed over to Isaac W. Hayne. His friends congratulated him on his marriage with real feeling, though they were distressed to lose his pilot hand from the Times and hoped to see him back in politics.[37] To Barnwell, then, in the spring of 1831, Hammond went to take charge of the big plantation of Silverton. With the change of occupation his health, which, while it was not so bad as he often complained, was certainly not good, improved very greatly. Though he could have had but little experience in planting, his early years in Newberry had bred in him a love of agriculture in

[35] As Major Spann Hammond puts it, there was as much difference in the ages of his eldest brother Harry and Betty, the baby, as there was between Harry and his mother. Harry was born in 1832, Betty in 1849. The first, of this branch at least, of the Fitzsimmons family to come to America was Cashel, who came to Charleston from Ireland. He was a merchant, a bachelor, and when his business grew too large for one man, he sent for his nephew (not, as some say, his son) to come over. Christopher arrived here in 1783, and married Miss Catherine Pritchard.

[36] Diary, February 6, 1841.

[37] Said Calhoun: "I speak without flattery when I say, it will be difficult to supply your place and that we can illy spare your services at this critical period." "We shall at least know for any purpose of high service and generous devotion," said Governor Hamilton, "where we have a man on whom we can rely" (Letter of May 21, 1831, also published in American Historical Review, vol. vi, p. 746).

every phase which never left him. He found himself getting on well and "all difficulties vanish[ing] before enterprise and industry."[38] At first he had considerable trouble with the negroes, for they had been allowed to go with too loose a rein and they thought Hammond inexperienced and likely to submit to imposition. In order to bring them to their senses he was compelled to be extremely severe for a year or more, and the reputation for harshness which he gained then clung to him long after he had been able to manifest his natural mildness. For many months he was too much occupied with his planter's duties to engage in politics.

Both the Unionist and State Rights parties in the State spent the year 1832 on the stump. By this time Calhoun had come to his open breach with Jackson when the President discovered that it was Calhoun who had wished to censure him in 1818 for his invasion of Florida. In mid-summer he wrote and published his famous Fort Hill letter to Governor Hamilton in which he summarized and popularized the arguments he had previousiy put forth. Hammond retained his eager interest in the nullification struggle and was delighted to see that nullification was rapidly gaining ground in South Carolina. The only part he took in the elections of 1832 was an occasional highly successful stump speech.[39] The elections of October 8 showed the State was decidedly in favor of a convention.

The special session of the legislature which Governor Hamilton convened as soon as he knew the results of the election, registered the popular will and called a convention. To it Hammond just missed being sent in Barnwell's delegation. The committee put his name in nomination and he lost by only a few votes to an old inhabitant, though he had only recently moved into the district.[40] The work of the

[38] James L. Clark to Hammond, January 13, 1832.
[39] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, May 27, 1832; Diary, February 7, 1841; J. L. Clark to Hammond, July 2, 1832; A. H. Pemberton to Hammond, July 2, 1832.
[40] Diary, February 7, 1841.

convention, important though it was, needs only a word here. It met during the week of November 19 and in serious dignity passed a report of the Committee of Twenty-one, an address to the people of South Carolina, another to the people of the United States, and, most important of all, the Ordinance of Nullification.[41] Within three weeks after the passage of the Nullification Ordinance came Jackson's anti-nullification proclamation of December 10, 1832.[42] A point which the nullifiers emphasized again and again in their campaign was that nullification was not only constitutional but peaceful. The address of the convention to the people of South Carolina decried utterly "the idea of using force on an occasion of this kind."[43] Hammond at the time believed that nullification was peaceful in intent. Every man in the State then was confident that the Federal Government would accept the nullification by the convention as binding.

But Jackson's proclamation said that "The laws of the United States must be executed."[44] The military preparations which followed at once are amazing. Far more extensive were they than any preparations of 1860. At once Hammond aroused himself from the lethargy into which his friends feared he had fallen. As soon as he heard it he wrote to Governor Hayne, offering his "services in any way that you can make them most useful," offering to recruit volunteers if the Governor thought it best, suggesting that Jackson's proclamation be answered officially, and advising that the concentration of troops in Charleston, which he took for granted, be effected "without parade."[45]

[41] All of these and other important related documents are printed in 22 Cong., 2d sess., H. Doc., No. 45, serial No. 233, as well as in the Journal of the Convention.

[42] Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. ii, pp. 640–656.

[43] The address is of course in the Convention Journal.

[44] Richardson, Messages and Papers, vol. ii, p. 654.

[45] Jas. H. Hammond to Governor Hayne, December 20, 1832; also printed in Am. Hist. Rev., vol. vi, pp. 751–752. No other document that has ever come to my notice shows so perfectly and so unconsciously as does this letter to Governor Hayne the devoted love and confidence which Carolinians of that day felt for the State.

As Hammond was writing, the Governor was signing his commission as "Aid-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief" and charging him with the military arrangements in Barnwell.[46] He was to raise in his district as much as he could of the volunteer force of ten thousand for emergency service, and also to procure all possible information, "relative to the general condition of the militia within your District, the temper of the men . . . the state of their arms . . .; whether those out of order can be repaired in your neighborhood . . . and what supplies exist of Field Pieces, Muskets, Rifles, Lead, &c, and generally everything which it is important for me to know: . . . all of which may be embraced in a confidential Report."[47] But Hammond had already started into just this sort of activity on receiving his commission, without waiting for details. As soon as he heard of Jackson's proclamation, he put his affairs in order so as to be able to leave home for an indefinite time. He took the oath at once, and started to distribute the circulars which the Governor sent. He arranged a meeting at Barnwell Court House where his recruiting speeches, he tells us, succeeded "beyond my expectations."[48] The entire district he covered in his work of inspecting, recruiting, commissioning.[49] Provision depots had to be selected and the best possible arrangements made for having a supply of food and fodder in case of need.[50]

Governor Hayne had urged as most important in his General Orders of December 26, 1832, that each aid-de-camp try to recruit in his district a company of mounted

[46] R. Y. Hayne to Hammond, December 21, 1832, enclosing commission to Hammond signed by Governor Hayne, December 20, 1832.

[47] General Orders No. 2, December 26, 1832, confidential printed circular. Copy in the Hammond MSS.

[48] Hammond to Governor Hayne, January 8, 1832.

[49] Hammond to Governor Hayne, January 8, 1833, Draft; F. W. Pickens to Hammond, January 14, 1833; Hammond to Major Collins, January 17, 1833, Draft Signed; Same to Captain Touchstone, January 18, 1833, Draft Signed; Same to Colonel Wm. Ed. Hayne, January, 23, 1833, Draft Signed.

[50] Hammond to Governor Hayne, January 23, 1833; Hammond to Wm. Fortune, January 18, 1833.

Minute Men to move before the volunteer companies could be shaken into action. They were to be called only in case of necessity and to be kept out only until volunteers could come up. The Governor suggested that in each district ten men of influence be selected to act as leaders. Each leader was to select ten men as his quota, and through him the aide was to act in summoning the minute men. Hammond thought, with much reason, that these Minute Men were to be merely an advance guard of the Volunteers who would fall back into their places when their corps came up, and upon that basis he gave out subscription papers. He was amazed, therefore, and a little indignant, to find that the Minute Men were to be an independent company and he protested in the most vigorous possible military language. Barnwell was so large that it would be very difficult to obtain a corps of Minute Men unless the members could be Volunteers as well, and he asked permission to continue his plan as best suited to his district. Such permission Hayne gave and Hammond went on with the recruiting.

Hammond labored hard and incessantly at his recruiting, but he found it uphill work. Barnwell district was not inclined to volunteer. He wrote:

> The people of Barnwell are generally very poor, & though staunch yeomanry, not generally so public spirited I find as some of our neighbors. If drafted there is not a nullifier in the district and few Union men who would not cheerfully take up arms . . . & they would make soldiers that might be depended on: but as to volunteering they do not understand it & are not inclined to put themselves to unnecessary trouble. The fact is that there are not intelligent men enough sprinkled about to stir them up, & that they have gone right heretofore I attribute to mere instinct. Whenever they can be collected together I have never faild to produce some ardour among them, but in so large a district, so sparsely populated it is difficult to get them to-gether, & they know so little of the matter that one exhortative does not last long. . . . I have made it a point in this district to address the Union men whenever I find them & explain to them the true character of *the present question.* It opens the eyes of many who appear never to have had any light before on the subject.[51]

Early in 1833 it looked as though the odious tariff,

[51] Hammond to Governor Hayne, January 23, 1833, Draft.

the ostensible ground for South Carolina's agitation, would be amended to something approaching her satisfaction. On December 27 was introduced the Verplanck bill which would have reduced duties about a half in two years. Senator Preston told Hammond, with whom during this year he was in constant communication, that he thought the bill would pass. Hammond did not favor the bill though he acknowledged that most of the nullifiers would accept it. For himself, he thought they would have to fight the fight over again in a few years. "Let him only amend the preamble and say that the object of the bill is to reduce the duties to the revenue standard and thus sanction the principle that they should be so reduced and it will be altogether acceptable." [52]

On sale day [53] in January 1833 a meeting at Barnwell Court House, which Hammond had arranged, resolved that "any mediation from other states urging a suspension of our Ordinance [be rejected] unless accompanied by a pledge to prevent the enforcement of the Tariff within their limits also, if it be not repealed in a given time." This resolution Hammond particularly favored and urged, without any consultation with leaders out of the district. The administration might be able to get Virginia politicians to urge South Carolina to suspend. Then the tariff would be lowered for the present and when the people had been decoyed into a false security and could not be got to nullify, would be raised again.[54]

The possibility of the adjustment of the tariff caused no cessation of Hammond's patriotic activities; the probability of the passage of the Wilkins Force Bill roused him

[52] Hammond to Wm. Preston, January 27, 1833.

[53] Sale day in South Carolina is—for it is still observed—the first Monday in the month. On sale day are made all sales ordered by the court, such as foreclosures and those made neccessary in settling a will. Other people with property to sell, especially four-legged property, bring it to the court house on sale day, for they are more sure of finding a crowd around then. It was, for that same reason, a very favorite time for holding any kind of public meeting. In this application it resembles the court day observed in Virginia.

[54] Hammond to Governor Hayne, January 8, 1833; to Wm. C. Preston, January 10, 1833.

to greater warmth. Not for an instant did he contemplate acquiescence in the Force Bill. Nor did he ignore the consequences of persistence. Before this there had been a chance of bloodshed if the United States tried to enforce the nullified law; the Force Bill was notice that the attempt would be made, and made with all the Federal resources. He thought that at least eight hundred and fifty men, some two-thirds of the number of fighting men in the District, would stand firmly by the State. The parade of the Volunteer Veterans—none of them less than fifty years old—had had a happy effect. "Every one seemed ready to fight and all appear animated by a most thorough conviction that we are unconquerable." [55]

Hammond personally never was—could indeed hardly have been—more consecrated to Carolina than at this time. He wrote to the Governor:

> I hold my property all of it as much at the service of the state as my life: but to calculate on something short of extremities I think I can furnish you next year with the proceeds of an hundred bales of cotton. I did think of making a large provision crop but reflecting that I was on the frontier of Georgia and flanked on all sides with Union men I thought perhaps it would be safer to plant cotton and furnish the state with the proceeds. If the seasons are ordinary I can afford to give at least a hundred bales without depriving myself of the means of meeting the contingent expenses of my official situation. For this I will take the States certificate or no certificate if the times require it. If it should be preferred I would cheerfully turn over to the service of the State from the time the first movement is made all my efficient male force to be employed in ditching, fortifying, building as pioneers &c. of course not to bear arms which would be dangerous policy to be justified only by the greatest extremities.[56]

Meanwhile the Clay bill, reducing duties to twenty per cent by 1842, and the Wilkins Force Bill, were introduced and passed. On March 11, the South Carolina convention met again pursuant to Hamilton's call.[57] As it was expected to do, it accepted the new tariff bill by rescinding the nullification ordinance, and the Force Bill by nullifying it. Hammond "consider[ed] that bill [Clay's] a grand concession

[55] Hammond to Governor Hayne, February 7, 1833.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Hamilton was president of the convention.

to us; being almost all that we have required either in the principle or in the practice of the Government." [58] The Force Bill was nullified by South Carolina and the convention declared that "the allegiance of the citizens of this State, while they continue such, is due to the said State; and that obedience only, and not allegiance, is due by them to any other power or authority, to whom a control over them has been, or may be delegated by the State." [59] Hammond doubted that this second nullification would cause any trouble unless Jackson proved more hot-headed and scoundrelly than he anticipated.[60]

Yet with the practical end of nullification, the end at least as it proved to be, military preparations in South Carolina did not cease. Recruiting of a cavalry troop was carried on to success. The Governor started out on a series of reviews, and rifles and lead and powder form the burden of letters. Hammond knew what the State was thinking and expressed it in public and in private in much the same terms. There was no telling what Jackson might do and it would then be foolish in the extreme to discontinue military preparations so long as the "distilled despotism" [61] of the Force Bill hung over them.

[58] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond (his brother), March 27, 1833.
[59] Journal of the Convention, p. 130.
[60] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, March 27, 1833.
[61] Speech of Hammond to the Barnwell Volunteers. Hammond had just been elected Colonel of the regiment, and on this occasion he was presenting to them a flag given by Governor Hayne. The speech is in vol. xxxiii of the Hammond Papers, sheets 25361–2.

CHAPTER II

Hammond in Congress

With the close of the nullification excitement, Hammond was back at Silver Bluff to spend the summer with his wife and the children, his fiddle, his books and his planting interests. Well might he feel a measure of satisfaction at his position. He had given his time and energy and had stood ready to give his money for what he unqualifiedly believed was right. Largely by his own efforts, he had raised a volunteer regiment of a thousand in a district formerly only apathetically State Rights and in some degree Union in sympathy, and had been almost unanimously elected its colonel without saying a word. He had been invited to deliver the annual Fourth of July address at Barnwell Court House and had pounded forth the idea that the Constitution was a check upon the majority, that the State had not surrendered sovereignty in ratifying it and that since it is the essence of sovereignty to be able to determine the extent of its obligations, the State should interpose her sovereignty whenever the Constitution was violated. By August be seemed likely to manage matters in Barnwell to his own satisfaction.[1]

After six months or so of comparative rest in the country —comparative only, for he was most of the time electioneering for Congress—Hammond's attention was brought back to public affairs by the excitement over the oath.[2]

The 1833 legislature abolished all State militia commissions and required all new officers to take an oath of allegiance to the State: "I, A. B., do solemnly swear, or

[1] I. W. Hayne to Hammond, August 15, 1833.

[2] The same session of the convention which had accepted the tariff nullified the Force Bill, and declared paramount allegiance due, not to the United States but to the State, had after wrangling, empowered the legislature to prescribe oaths binding whom it would to observe such allegiance and abjure all other.

affirm, that I will be faithful and true allegiance bear to the State of South Carolina; and that I will support and maintain, to the utmost of my ability, the laws and constitution of this State and the United States; so help me God." [3]

Although the oath did not upon its face demand paramount allegiance to the State, all circumstances pointed to such an intention and to such an interpretation. There was much fiery opposition to this requirement, and several Union men elected officers refused to take it. One of these, Edward McCrady, elected lieutenant of the Washington Light Infantry, sought by mandamus to compel Colonel B. F. Hunt to issue his commission. The case came at length to the State Court of Appeals and here by a two to one decision the oath was held unconstitutional as an ordinary enactment.[4] Hammond saw that to call the legislature in extra session to remove the judges would only create sympathy for them, and that the thing to do was to amend the constitution at the regular session and thus put the question of allegiance out of the reach of a Union bench.

At the next sale day after the decision, the State Rights party of Barnwell District held a meeting at the Court House to consider it. The party relied entirely on Hammond to express its views, and urged him to send on a preamble and resolutions even if he could not be present.[5] Since the speech and resolutions were deemed by the party committee timely and correct enough to print, they deserve somewhat extended quotation, as being an accurate idea of South Carolina political philosophy of the post-nullification period.

> Had the majority of the Court of Appeals, in the present instance . . . confined themselves to what they deemed the proper construction of the Constitution of the State, this Committee would, without hesitation, have recommended, as the wisest course, a silent submission to their decision, until the Constitution could be amended . . . . But . . . they have gone further . . . . The real question put at issue, and determined by the Judges . . . . [in their obiter dictum] is, whether, according to our confederated system, sovereignty, or the

[3] Courier, December 10, 1833.
[4] Courier, June 4, 1834.
[5] Angus Patterson to Hammond, June 22, 1834.

last power of decision on all civil and political questions, from which there can be no appeal, resides in the States, respectively, or in the Federal Government. The paramount allegiance of the citizen, or obligation to obey without further question, is due of course to that last power or sovereignty . . . [according to the Court, allegiance] means nothing but obedience. But we have two Governments, State and Federal. We, therefore, owe allegiance, or obedience, to two powers. Neither has a right to claim it exclusively.

Such, said Hammond, was the dictum of the court, a dictum which he thought both false and dangerous.

We admit, on our part, that we have two Governments. We admit, that we owe obedience to both . . . . But the highest duty which we owe, is not to the Government . . . we have a power *above the Government* . . . . This transcendent power is *Sovereignty*, and belongs to the people only, not to the people in a 'state of nature,' . . . but . . . in a state of society, . . . called the *Social Compact*. A compact which, from the nature of things, necessarily arises whenever a number of individuals meet and form a distinct community . . . the principle of whose existence is, that they will adhere together, on their own soil, against all the world; and the first rule, that every member must submit implicitly to the will of the majority, so long as he continues with them. It is this high and exclusive obligation which we dignify with the name of 'allegiance', in return for which, the individual receives the substantial protection of the compact . . . from all invasions of his right by Government itself, which it creates, limits, checks and alters at discretion . . . .

Since and individual cannot be at the same time a member of two social compacts, his allegiance cannot be divided . . . to determine the true ultimate relations of the American citizen, . . . it is only necessary to ascertain to what Social Compact he belongs . . . . Each Colony was declared a Sovereign and Independent State. They afterwards . . . created a new Government by the Constitution of the United States . . . . A new *Government* was created—not a *State* . . . a new *agency*—not a *sovereignty* arose . . . .

The resolutions which Hammond recommended were unanimously adopted:

That the Allegiance of the Citizens of this State, while they continue such, is due to the said State. And that obedience only . . . is due . . . to any other power or authority.

That the Legislature at the next Session, ought to . . . define and punish Treason against the State.

That, when a Public Officer entertains views "repugnant to that power whose Agent he is, it is his duty to resign his office." This of course referred to the judges whose opinions Hammond had just been refuting.

That no candidate for the Legislature be supported who did not favor the constitutional amendment regarding the oath.

That the State Rights Association be, and the same is hereby reorganized.[6]

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[6] Report at a meeting of the State Rights and Free Trade Party of Barnwell District, held at Barnwell Court House on Monday, July 7, 1834. Published in pamphlet form and also in Hammond, Letters and Speeches.

In the legislature of 1834, elected after an exciting campaign, the nullifiers had two-thirds and were therefore able to pass the constitutional amendment. The Union men were still not satisfied. There was a Union plan afoot, of undetermined strength, to make popular elections impossible while the oath was in force. Finally, the Committee on Federal Relations reported, with the oath amendment, an interpretation of it which did not impair allegiance to the United States. With that both sides were satisfied.[7]

Hammond had decided by the last of 1833 to be a candidate for the United States Congress the following year. He was young, his health, always an important factor with him, was fairly good, and his nullification activities had made him practically the mouthpiece of his district and given him the friendship and favor of the two governors under whom he had worked.[8] The campaign went on through the year 1834 very much like any other South Carolina campaign. Representatives in the United States Congress were almost unique among Carolina officials in that they were elected by the people and not by the legislature. For that reason there were more appeals to popular favor. Both Hammond and Franklin H. Elmore, who was, for a time at least, a serious opponent, went to barbecues and company musters, or sent serious letters to be read if they could not be present. Both wrote letters or made visits of flattery to the humble voters. This was the only popular election Hammond ever had to stand, and it may very well have created in him that aversion he afterwards expressed towards increasing the number of popular elections as tending to undue excitement of the popular mind.

Nullification had left the South with the feeling, not

[7] Mercury, December 11, 1834.

[8] "Know O most modest young man . . . that you James H. Hammond were one of the safest counsellors in difficult & apparently desperate cases that the varied experience of . . . [Governors Hamilton and Hayne] had ever brought them into council with. General Hayne in his emphatic way pronounced you 'cool sagacious & honest,' Gen. Hamilton added, 'Aye and as brave as Julius Caesar'" (I. W. Hayne to Hammond, January 27, 1835).

always conscious, but certainly at least dormant, that the Northerner in the mass was a different kind of human creature from himself—so different that there could never be more than peace between them, never amity and unity. When anti-slavery gave place to abolitionism, the South began to lose what tolerance it had had, for bitter resentment of Northern denunciation and demand for the punishment of "these wicked monsters and deluded fanatics." Governor McDuffie, in his annual message of 1835, said that "the laws of every community should punish this species of interference by death without benefit of clergy, regarding the authors of it as 'enemies of the human race.'" He went further:

> It will, therefore, become our imperious duty, recurring to those great principles of international law, which still exist in all their primitive force among the sovereign States of this confederacy, to demand of our sovereign associates the condign punishment of those enemies of our peace, who avail themselves of the sanctuaries of their respective jurisdictions, to carry on schemes of incendiary hostility against the institutions the safety and the existence of the State . . . .
> For the institution of domestic slavery we hold ourselves responsible only to God, and it is utterly incompatible with the dignity and the safety of the State, to permit any foreign authority to question our right to maintain it.[9]

By midsummer 1835, Hammond, leading nullifier and congressman-elect, beloved of McDuffie and R. Y. Hayne and Hamilton, had gone as far as the ardent governor. He subscribed for the New York Evening Star because its columns were equally free to both sides, and wrote at length to Noah, its editor:

> The Northern Fanatics must not expect to find in us the unrepresented colonial subjects of an arrogant monarchy. . . . We do not believe that all or perhaps a majority of the Northern people favour the views of these Incendiaries but what does it boot us if they do not so long as they give them an asylum from which to hurl their murderous missiles. These men can be silenced in but one way—*Terror—Death.* The non-slaveholding states must pass laws denying protection to them & yielding them up to demand to those whose laws and whose rights they have violated . . . . This is the only remedy. *This alone can save the Union.* So soon as it is clearly ascertained that this will not be done we shall dissolve the Union, &

[9] Governor McDuffie's annual message, November 24, 1835, in Journal of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, 1835, p. 5.

seek by war the redress denied us by allied sister states. Depend upon it, sir, it will come to this, & ere long. I do not speak of any plans on foot but of the inevitable tendency of things.[10]

The United States Telegraph of August 18, 1835, which Hammond could not have seen by the nineteenth, and the Charleston Courier—the Courier, not the Mercury—of the twentieth, contained the same idea. That three separated points of influence should at almost the same time demand the death penalty for the circulation of abolitionism argues the terrible seriousness of the question, and the incalculable importance of slavery to the South.

As to emancipation, Hammond stood squarely with his region at this period and considered it flatly impossible. "We will & we had better give our lives. . . . Emancipation is impossible as it would be to divide the continent at the Alleghanies. We would sacrifice a thousand unions sooner than ruin our selves, desolate this fair region."[11]

Hammond arrived in Washington in time for the beginning of the twenty-fourth Congress, almost simultaneously with the serious agitation of the slavery question before that body. There had been, to be sure, a few petitions for abolition in the District of Columbia, but they had been very few and the members presenting them had made it clear that they presented them by request.[12] This time the House had no sooner got under way than the question of slavery in the District took the floor and held it for a good portion of the session. The very day the matter was brought up by Fairfield, Slade of Vermont moved to print, saying that it was due the memorialists "as a matter of common courtesy and common right."[13]

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[10] Hammond to M. M. Noah, August 19, 1835, Draft.

[11] Ibid.

[12] For example, "Mr. Fairfield [of Maine] understanding he said that by a presentation of a petition, a member was not made responsible for its propositions, presented a petition signed by 172 females, praying the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and moved that it be referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia" (24th Cong., 1st sess., Cong. Deb., p. 1961, December 16, 1835).

[13] 24th Cong., 1st sess., Cong. Deb., p. 1962. Slade did not say as Hart, Slavery and Abolition, p. 157 claims, that they had a constitu-

Hammond, being a new member and a young one also, took no part in the preliminaries and even allowed the first abolition petition to be disposed of without speaking on it. In a day or two, another petition for the abolition of slavery in the District was presented. This Hammond moved be not received. He had thought that the decided vote (180–31) by which the first petition had been laid on the table would insure against the appearance of any more, but since "it had not had that effect . . . he thought it was not requiring too much of the House, to ask it to put a more decided seal of reprobation on them, by peremptorily rejecting this." The discussion took up a great deal of the time of the House for the month of January, and part of February. Hammond led the fight of those who "took the highest ground," that the House had not the right to concern itself at all with slavery and therefore should not receive the petitions.[14] He himself spoke but seldom, but was evidently watching.[15]

The course of Hammond and Pickens and their associates was to get the Northern men on record on the question, while the course of the Van Burenites was equally to avoid a decisive vote. As Thomas Cooper said in December, "all

tional right to have it printed. His only words to anything even resembling that idea were that they belonged to a "section of the country . . . as well informed in regard to their constitutional privileges, as any other portion of the Union."

[14] As for instance, 24th Cong., 1st sess., Cong. Deb., pp. 1966, 2466.

[15] John Quincy Adams says that "a great number of other petitions with the same prayer [abolition of slavery and of the slave trade in the District] were presented by many members, and all were postponed, on motions of Hammond that they should not be received" (Adams, Memoirs, vol. ix, p. 275). The Debates for the session show that Hammond was present and voted at every yea and nay on the petition question and that he was absent or did not vote on any other question except the increase of the Navy when he voted nay (24th Cong., 1st sess., Cong. Deb., p. 2168). The abolition fight had not yet engendered the private and personal bitterness between individual Northerners and Southerners which came later to be such a regrettable feature. For example, when a few months later Hammond went to Europe, this same John Quincy Adams offered him at least one letter of introduction, a thing impossible, surely, ten years later (J. Q. Adams to George Lafayette, June 6, 1836).

the populace of the middle and northern states is against you and the Van Burenites won't dare to be hostile to such a mass of votes."[16] The programme was entirely satisfactory to the South Carolina leaders and seemingly to the mass of the constituency as well. "So far as I have any [judgment] it is most decidedly with the course you took," wrote F. H. Elmore, his opponent for the seat in Congess. "If you can nail these Northern non-committal V[an] B[uren] men & compel them to say unequivocally one thing or the other you will have done good service to the South. . . . You say most truly that what we want is to know what we have *to depend on*. . . . As far as I know you are entirely approved by your constituents."[17]

Hammond himself spoke on the question of the reception of petitions only once at any length. He thought of course that the House ought not to receive the petition "because it asks us to do what we have no constitutional power to do." In speaking on this point, that is, that Congress, having exclusive jurisdiction over the District of Columbia, had the power to abolish slavery, he made the very good point that the Constitution is to be construed as a whole and that since it recognizes slaves as property and forbids Congress to take private property without compensation, it would be a violation of its spirit and letter to abolish slavery there.

Dismissing with a brief decided negative the power of Congress to legislate slavery out of existence in the District, Hammond turned his attention to the abolitionists. With a fullness indicative of wide reading and an unquestioning intention to oppose the enemy at once and thoroughly, he set forth the history of abolition societies. This done, he proceeded:

> [To] examine more closely the real designs of these abolitionists, the means by which they will attempt to effect them, and the probable result. Their designs are . . . [according to Wm. Jay's Inquiry]:

[16] Thomas Cooper to Hammond, December 30, 1835. Placed, wrongly, at V, 19177 in MSS. Division, Library of Congress.
[17] F. H. Elmore to Hammond, December 31, 1835.

1st. The immediate abolition of slavery throughout the United States.
2d. As a necessary consequence, the suppression of the American slave trade.
3d. The ultimate elevation of the black population to an equality with the white, in civil and religious privileges.

Sir, the abolition of slavery can be expected to be effected in but three ways: through the medium of the slave-holder or the Government—or the slaves themselves.

I think I may say that any appeal to the slaveholders will be in vain. . . . So far as our hopes are concerned, I believe I can say we are perfectly satisfied . . . so far as we have been able to observe other states of society we . . . [prefer our own].

As to our fears . . . Sir, it is all a flourish . . . in no part of the world have men of ordinary firmness less fear of danger from their operatives than we have . . . .

The appeal to our interest . . . might appear to promise much success for whatever it is the interest of a community to do, that (sooner or later) it will be sure to do. . . . In Southern latitudes where . . . a large combination of labor under the direction of one head is required . . . domestic slavery is indispensable.

Not for an instant did Hammond consider that he was defending slavery. Listen to his words, spoken on the floor of Congress in the year of Our Lord 1836: "Slavery is said to be an evil. . . . But it is no evil. On the contrary I believe it to be the greatest of all the great blessings which a kind Providence has bestowed upon our glorious region." [18]

In 1830 Hammond's blood had run cold at the very thought of disunion: in 1836 he said boldly and unequivocally that it was by no means impossible. Since emancipation by the slave-holder was visionary and emancipation by the slaves themselves impossible, it only remained to consider emancipation by act of Congress. And said Hammond: "the instant the first decisive step is taken looking toward legislation on this subject, I will go home to preach, and if I can, to practice disunion, and civil war if needs be." And yet—he believed the step would be

[18] Hammond, Letters and Speeches, p. 34. It would perhaps be rash to assert that this is the very earliest defence of slavery, not as something to be endured because it was present, but as a genuine good; it is certainly the earliest the writer has been able to find, and it may well be the first statement to that end by a man of any prominence. It should be remembered that it is at least a year before Calhoun's statement on the floor of the Senate that slavery had proved itself a positive good to both races (Calhoun, Works, vol. ii, p. 630; also in 24th Cong., 2nd sess., Cong. Deb., p. 718).

taken, that the Abolitionists would not stop, but would carry on the conflict against them until "we may have to dissolve this Union." [19]

Hammond was thus going on boldly and successfully in his fight against abolitionism in Congress when, to use his own words, "Henry L. Pinckney, one of my colleagues betrayed us and moved a compromise." [20] On February 8, Pinckney offered in the House a resolution to refer to a select committee all memorials and petitions relating to abolition in the District of Columbia and to bid the committee report that "Congress possesses no constitutional authority to interfere" with slavery in the States and that "Congress ought not to interfere" with slavery in the District.[21] Hammond was on his feet in indignant protest the instant Pinckney finished speaking. Pinckney had said that he and his colleagues did not differ in principle. "Sir," said Hammond, "we do differ, differ vitally, on principle. I consider the gentleman's proposition as abandoning the high, true and only safe ground of our rights, to throw ourselves upon the expediency of this House." [22] Pinckney's resolutions were carried by large majorities, though on the later ones Hammond and other Southerners did not vote.

Pinckney's resolutions had not come as an entire surprise, but that did not lessen Hammond's indignation. Sometime before offering it, Pinckney had come to him, and showed him a resolution which he desired to present. Hammond refused to suffer it in silence, and understood him to say he would not offer it. When late in March Pinckney said he had consulted all but two of his colleagues, and that none had thought the resolutions worse than unwise, Hammond replied in a wrathful open letter to the Charleston Courier refusing even to endorse the purity of Pinckney's motives.[23]

[19] 24th Cong., 1st sess., Cong. Deb., pp. 2448–2465; Letters and Speeches, pp. 15–50, especially pp. 35, 41, 49.
[20] Diary, February 7, 1841.
[21] 24th Cong., 1st sess., Cong. Deb., p. 2491.
[22] Ibid., p. 2495.
[23] Hammond to the Charleston Courier, March 24, 1836, Draft Signed.

Pinckney's course was also much denounced by Hammond's correspondents. James Hamilton thought his course was "utterly inexplicable except on the presumption of religious fanaticism—as we should be reluctant to charge venality."[24] Others were not so kind to him. One writer "could wish him if a man of honor & sensibility, no other or worse punishment than to be compelled to read the editorials of the Union papers in his behalf . . . [if he read certain ones] he would with the proviso mentioned immediately commit suicide.

"But Sir—I know not the man, and I . . . believe he had sold himself for the patronage of the Charleston Navy Yard."[25] Besides the approbation of the Union papers, Pinckney received not only the indirect denunciation of the papers which praised Hammond, but the direct condemnation of the Mercury, with which he had himself been connected, and of the State Rights press generally.[26] He would have even been denounced by public meetings through the State, had not wiser heads decided it was better to leave him to his constituents and to confine themselves to praise of their own representatives.

It was in the course of his speech in the House that Hammond made a statement, almost a side remark, which goes very far toward illuminating his career. He had just been reviewing the causes of Northern hostility to the South. He had said that position alone was not a cause, that the fact that the North and the South were in different

[24] James Hamilton to Hammond, 10, 1836.

[25] G. B. Lamar to Hammond, February 27, 1836.

[26] Meigs, Calhoun, vol. ii, p. 153, says that Pinckney was apparently not denounced openly, but it would seem that Meigs is mistaken. R. Y. Hayne told Wm. C. Preston that the Mercury had denounced Pinckney (Hayne to Preston, February 18, 1836). "I have been in this place [Charleston] since Friday [the 26th] and have not heard a man approve of Mr. Pinckney's resolutions—those who did not denounce them, and I have not met with a State Rights man who did not, say nothing" (Angus Patterson to Hammond, Feburary 29, 1836). "When that D—nd Traitor Pinckney came out with his more traitorous resolutions . . . that white livered cowardly dog P———. . . . I could consume an entire sheet of paper in cursing him" (J. H. Adams to Hammond, March 29, 1836).

regions of the country did not lead the North to hostility to the South. It was natural that non-slaveholders should have an aversion to domestic servitude; that, also, the children of the Puritans should, until they investigated, be instinctively hostile to all slavery; and that, most of all, the crowding foreign immigrants of the North, themselves just out of bondage, should be horrified at the slavery of their Southern counterparts. Having thus with easy brilliance explained reasons and influences which some Northerners to this day do not understand, Hammond went on to give casually, almost unconsciously, his opinion of the result of these tendencies:

> And here let me say that these opinions, so natural, so strong, and so distinctly marking the geographical divisions of our country, indicate differences which, if pushed much further, will inevitably separate us into two nations; a separation which I should regard as a calamity to the whole human race, and which we of the South will endeavor to avert by every means save the sacrifice of our liberties, or the subversion of our domestic institutions.

A man does not go on to reiterate the obvious as though he were announcing a great discovery. So Hammond, having said briefly that disunion, if it must come, would bring two nations, did not pause to discuss why he thought it would bring two and not twenty-two, but went on to his next point. That he did so think and that he desired it and worked for it, is the central fact in his life. About the same time he expressed the same idea even more frankly to Beverley Tucker. "I believe disunion must take place," he said, "and have long believed that the planting States under one federal head would exhibit more prosperity than the world has ever seen."[27] Nothing that he ever had said or was to say contradicted this belief, many things emphasize it or are clearer if it is remembered. When he went to the Senate in 1857 he laid it down as his cardinal political principle that he would in no event countenance an isolated movement of South Carolina. When he discountenanced South Carolina's secession in 1860, as he did, even after Lincoln's election, it was because he

[27] Hammond to [Beverley] Tucker, March 11, 1836, Draft.

thought the South not yet ready to follow. Many of the incidents of Hammond's career can be overlooked; the one thing not to be forgotten is that he foresaw Southern nationality and worked for it long before such a conception had entered most men's heads.

It was during this session and in consequence of this speech that B. Tucker of Virginia, the lovable, erratic old Southerner, who was professor at William and Mary, started a correspondence with Hammond and a friendship lasting until Tucker's death. Tucker was more heedlessly in favor of Southern nationality than Hammond, and his exuberance, impractical though it often was, contributed to keep Hammond's spirits high and firm.[28]

Meanwhile Hammond's health was failing badly. It had never been very good since his boyhood, even with due allowance for his undoubted habit of exaggerating his ailments. Since he had left Carolina and the out-of-door life to which as a planter he was accustomed for Washington and the "mephitic" air of the Capital,[29] his condition had grown steadily and rapidly worse. In the middle of February he was taken sick and confined to his room with a severe attack of a chronic complaint. His old friend Thomas Cooper, who, besides being chemist, philosopher, economist, lawyer and politician, was a physician, bade him take a trip. A Philadelphia specialist gave the same prescription. When to the doctor's advice was added the intelligence, so grateful to any public man, that his standing with his constituents would allow him to be absent from the District for a while, he determined to go to Europe. His colleagues in both houses dismissed him with real regret and gave him many letters of introduction to men of prominence in England, France and Germany. He was ac-

[28] Tucker's name was of course Beverley Tucker, but it is impossible to think of him except as B. Tucker. He always signed his name so, and his handwriting and his signature are as much a part of him as his face or his ideas.

[29] The old House and Senate chambers had no outside air and had to get artificially what ventilation they had. Undoubtedly mephitic, poisonous, was not too severe a term for them.

companied by his wife and his oldest son Harry, now about four years old, who had been with him in Washington.

Late in July, 1836, the Hammonds left New York for London. Here they stayed only a week before hurrying on to Paris. For three weeks they enjoyed "the gayest & really loveliest of cities." From Paris they went slowly and leisurely, as befitted their means and their health, by way of Burgundy and Switzerland over the Simplon to Italy. In that region the travellers lingered for several months, for they found it the pleasantest part of their trip. From Milan they made an excursion to Monza to see the Iron Crown. To Brescia, Verona, Padua, Venice, Bologna and Florence they went in turn. Florence held them for a month, "luxuriating on the wonders of the Royal Gallery, the Pitti Palace, the Venus de Medici . . . the great masters of painting among whom Raphael is the Homer." Their stay in Rome was the longest and—despite Hammond's dictum that the churches, the music, the women and the climate were alike intolerable—the pleasantest part of the journey. In Rome was born their fifth son, Charles Julius.[30] Hammond approved as unqualifiedly as it was possible for him to do of anything, of Roman antiquities and galleries and also of "their fruit & viands of all sorts which are delicious." In Rome and throughout Italy he bought a great many of the paintings and pieces of statuary which so delighted him and his friends, and awed and shocked his country neighbors in years to come.[31]

From Rome the travellers went slowly back through France to England. Here they stayed longer than they had on the way over, and made trips to Edinburgh and all the tourist cities of the British Isles, and in this way a little more than a year was consumed in travel. Hammond's health was much improved, "better than it has been except at short intervals." He wrote to Waddy Thompson during

[30] He died a few months later near Valenciennes.

[31] Many of them are still to be seen at Redcliffe which descended to Harry, and at Blackville, the home of his second son, Major Spann. Spann was known in childhood as Edward.

the winter: "If I could always be as well as I am now I should be satisfied but I cannot indulge in the expectation. The excitement & anxieties of home & fever of politics would certainly prostrate me again very soon. Another year in Europe may perhaps harden me so as to bear the former tolerably." [32]

The news of all kinds from this country had been very cheering during the whole of the trip. Calhoun had devoted the last minutes of the session to a note to him and had urged him to write often and fully.[33] Wm. C. Preston published abroad his opinion that Hammond was "a long bowshot ahead of any man from the South in Congress." [34] Governor Butler lamented that he had not had the aid of Hammond's "tallents & judgement" when he became Governor.[35] His brother Marcellus said that "the people all along the road . . . ask a great deal about you and sister Catherine." [36] His crops were first rate. He made three hundred and thirty bags of cotton in 1836 which, Butler added, was a good crop for his thin land. His children were in splendid health.[37]

With health improved, friends solicitous, children blooming and crops the equal of anyone's in the region, Hammond came back in the summer of 1837 to Barnwell. By the time of his return there was talk of running him for the South Carolina Senate,[38] and Governor Butler announced to him an intention to appoint him to the Senate of the United States if a vacancy occurred.[39] His views of South Carolina's proper policy were likely to prove influential. "I am anxious to see you as well to learn the state of your health &c. as to consult on our present political situation," said Angus Patterson, Senator from Barnwell, just before the

[32] Hammond to Waddy Thompson, from Rome, December 18, 1836.
[33] John C. Calhoun to Hammond, July, 4, 1836, Calhoun Corr., p. 362.
[34] J. L. Clark to Hammond, October 22, 1836.
[35] P. M. Butler to Hammond, October 30, 1836.
[36] M. C. M. Hammond to Hammond, November 23, 1836.
[37] F. W. Pickens to Hammond, November 14, 1836.
[38] Jas. L. Clark to Hammond, August 3, 1837.
[39] P. M. Butler to Hammond, October 30, 1837.

opening of the legislature. "I hope you will visit Columbia during the session . . . as early as convenient. Many of us are in a fog uncertain what course to steer . . . if you cannot [come] give me your views fully by mail as early as convenient, and without reserve as I will consider it confidential."[40] F. H. Elmore, his successor in Congress, wanted to know what Hammond thought of the President's policy and especially of its probable effect on their staple crops.[41] Pickens was very eager indeed for Hammond to return to public life. "I hope you will at least go into the next Legislature without hesitation. This would not interfere with your pursuits[42] & could give you experience, & keep you before the public. Do be sure & go . . . it will be important to you & the State."[43]

But Hammond was not at all inclined to go to the State legislature. Ever since his marriage he had been getting more and more interested in his planting. "Planting . . . in this country is the only independent and really honorable occupation," he told Marcellus some years later. "The planters here are essentially what the nobility are in other countries. They stand at the head of society & politics. Lawyers & professed politicians come next, then Doctors, merchants &c."[44] And he loved planting, too, and worked hard at it. He had an overseer, of course, for he was often obliged to be absent, but when he was at the plantation he did not leave matters to the overseer. Mounting his horse every morning very early he himself rode over his acres, directing and planning, locating ditches, overseeing the building of the grist mill, ordering improvements in tillage and drainage. The poverty of his thin acres, and the depression of the prices as a result of the panic of 1837 disturbed him greatly though his crops were on the

[40] Angus Patterson to Hammond, November 23, 1837.
[41] F. H. Elmore to Hammond, December 11, 1837.
[42] The South Carolina legislature met for only a few weeks in late November and December, and a planter could very well give three weeks at that time without prejudice to his planting.
[43] F. W. Pickens to Hammond, March 9, 1838.
[44] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, May 9, 1848.

whole the best he could have hoped for. Led by this, and by a constantly out-cropping desire to go where land was cheap and good and sure to rise in value, he took a month's journey on horseback in the spring of 1838 with a favorite slave boy through Georgia and Florida.[45] But he found that good land was high and cheap land poor, so he returned to Barnwell to ditch and drain and manure in an effort to improve his present holdings.

[45] Diary of trip in the Hammond Papers in the Library of Congress.

CHAPTER III

Governor of South Carolina

By 1839, or perhaps even earlier, Hammond had decided that he wanted to be governor. He had thought of it for several years, but only in a vague way. When he came back from Europe he did not intend to retire completely from public life. Calhoun and Pickens urged him to return to Congress[1] but that he did not wish to do. He blamed his loss of health in part on the "mephitic" air of the Capitol building. However, by 1839 he had been in retirement long enough, and the governorship seemed to be a good place for a man of his abilities and station in life to start again. To be sure, the governor of South Carolina, like the King of England, reigned but did not govern, but even without the Civil List, most men would be willing to be King of England.

The situation in the State was much involved in national politics. Calhoun has left it on record that as soon as he heard Van Buren's Sub-Treasury message, he decided to support it, since he thought that Van Buren and not he had changed his mind.[2] He knew almost as soon that Preston, his colleague, would favor Biddle's bank and events proved his knowledge correct.[3] Preston did try to carry South Carolina away from Calhoun, and at first he had some success. He was a thorough Whig, therefore he disliked Calhoun only less than Van Buren. In the first vote on the Sub-Treasury in the House, all the South Carolina delegates except Rhett and Pickens voted to lay the bill on

[1] John C. Calhoun to Hammond, April 18, 1838; F. W. Pickens to Hammond, February 8, 1839.

[2] Calhoun to the Alexandria Gazette, September 15, 1837, in Niles Register, vol. liii, p. 53.

[3] Calhoun to Jas. Ed. Calhoun, September 7, 1837; Calhoun to Anna Maria Calhoun, September 8, 30, 1837.

the table, when a change of that one State's vote would have reversed the result.[4]

By the next session Calhoun's position in South Carolina was stronger. On his way to Washington he spent several days in Columbia while the legislature was in session, and "mingled with the members." As a result of his mingling, the legislature passed resolutions supporting the position he had assumed and declaring the incorporation of a national bank "unconstitutional, inexpedient and dangerous."[5] At a special session of the legislature Calhoun was strong enough to punish Preston more pointedly. A resolution was passed declaring, what had been expressly repudiated before, that "any public servant who refuses to promote the same [policy of a sub-treasury] pursues a course injurious to the welfare and prosperity of the state."[6] All the congressional delegation except Preston and Waddy Thompson came in the end to support Calhoun's views.

Such unanimity was, as Petigru said, "too great, unnatural."[7] Hammond, who was watching, said that only Pickens and Rhett really agreed with Calhoun, and that the others were trying to get control of the State. Soon the break-up began. Preston was strong in Columbia, and Thompson succeeded in returning to Congress despite Calhoun's opposition.[8] The contest for governorship in 1838 showed the Preston strength. The candidates were Patrick Noble of Abbeville and B. T. Elmore of Richland. Noble was a kinsman of Calhoun and of Pickens. When it came to a vote, though Elmore had broken a pledge to withdraw,

[4] 25th Cong., 1st sess., Cong. Deb., pp. 1864–85. Meigs, Calhoun, vol. ii, p. 197 n., says incorrectly that all but Rhett voted to table the bill. Pickens voted not to table, and Rhett, who had already left for home, did not vote (Pickens to Hammond, March 1, 1840, July 10, 1840).

[5] Courier, December 14, 1837; Niles Register, vol. liii, p. 257; South Carolina House and Senate Journals, pp. 57–59, 70–71.

[6] Niles Register, vol. liv, p. 339. Preston did not resign for four years.

[7] J. L. Petigru to H. S. Legare, December 17, 1837, in Charleston Sunday News, June 10, 1900.

[8] Calhoun to J. R. Poinsett, July 4, 1838; to Duff Green, October 11, 1838.

58 votes, more than one third, were cast against Noble.[9] As a result the Elmores, with the Rhetts, split from Pickens, but not from Calhoun.[10] That was the situation in 1839 as Hammond saw it. Which faction was stronger no one yet knew.

For a while Hammond's candidacy remained quiescent. The Rhett-Elmore people hinted around, but they would not take Hammond except on their terms and he would take them only on his own. By August, Hammond received the distinct advantage of the adherence of Frank Pickens, Calhoun's cousin and at this time his closest political friend.[11] He did not disdain the Rhett-Elmore support on his own terms—would indeed have been glad to get it—and he was eager to know who would be their candidate.

With the beginning of the new year came the visible opening of the campaign. Hammond found out just before New Year's that John P. Richardson was the candidate of his opponents. Friday, January 10, the Mercury came out editorially for him. The late legislature had displayed, it said, great unanimity for the Honorable John P. Richardson. Union men had cooperated with nullifiers to maintain the proper State Rights attitude, yet up to now no governor had been selected from them.[12] At once the Unionist Anti-Sub-Treasury Courier[13] responded cordially to the nomination. The Charleston Southern Patriot, and even the Edgefield advertiser likewise assented.[14] If this legislative unanimity did exist, it was important. The legislature of South Carolina still elected the governor and if the legislature of 1839 was unanimous for Richardson, the legislature of 1840, composed entirely or largely of the same members, would probably elect him.

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[9] Courier, December 10, 1838.
[10] Diary, February 7, 1841.
[11] Ibid., June 27, 1839, July 14, August 17, 1839.
[12] Mercury, January 10, 1840. The existence of such unanimity may be doubted.
[13] Courier, January 13, 1840.
[14] Charleston Southern Patriot, January 11, 1840; F. W. Pickens to Hammond, February 1, 1840.

Hammond and his friends were troubled because they had no newspaper at their command. The Elmores controlled the Columbia South Carolinian, and the Rhetts the Mercury, and as these two went, so went others. Hammond tried hard to get the control of the Carolinian away from the Elmores, but Pemberton, the editor, owed the Elmores, and DeSaussure and the Goodwyns more than three thousand dollars which he could not pay.[15] It was even charged that the Mercury would not publish signed contributions favoring Hammond, for, said S. W. Trotti, most faithful of Hammond's lesser lieutenants, in the Courier, they put off and delayed, under plea of a great press of business, until they might as well refuse entirely. The Mercury denied the charge and said it was willing to publish any Hammond articles not in bad taste, but since it classed as bad taste any use of the State Rights-Unionism argument, it demanded that Hammond concede the point at issue.[16] Hammond had to do without an editorial nomination. He was put into the running by a letter of James M. Walker in the Courier over the signature "Charleston."[17] Next day the Mercury regretted the nomination, and later it grew still more bitter.[18]

The most important single factor in the campaign was the attitude of Calhoun. Both candidates wanted his favor and both claimed to have it. Hammond went up to Pendleton in the summer of 1839, but Calhoun would not even express a civil hope for his success.[19] When it appeared that the Rhetts would support Richardson, Hammond almost demanded of Pickens that Calhoun support him. Pickens said that Calhoun preferred Hammond but that he was not going

[15] Hammond to F. W. Pickens, January 18, 1840.

[16] Courier, July 2, 31; Mercury, July 3, 1840. The controversy ran along for several more numbers until it died away in vagueness.

[17] S. W. Trotti to Hammond, April 16, 1840; Courier, February 13, 1840.

[18] Mercury, February 14, 19, 1840. It said on the 19th that if there should arise any opposition to Richardson, it would be composed of "the bank party, the Preston party, and such Sub-Treasury Nullifiers as personal ambition or jealousy" had blinded.

[19] Diary, August 17–21, 1839.

to urge the Senator to take part in the campaign.[20] A little later when the political abuse on both sides was more than ordinarily bitter, Calhoun was distressed. He himself wrote to Hammond a long letter praising the correctness of his national views and stressing with much emphatic detail his own determination not to take sides.[21] Hammond then tried to have Pickens work on Calhoun in his behalf, but Pickens refused to do it, though he himself was deeply interested in Hammond's success.[22] He tried to get General Hamilton to find out what Calhoun really thought.[23] During May, Hammond was almost beside himself with eagerness to have Calhoun approve him, or at least approve the idea of having a distinctly State Rights candidate. Three times in a month he wrote long letters arguing the risk involved in electing a former Union man while the State Rights party were in the ascendency.[24] But Calhoun remained firm.

The Richardson party did not make the mistake of underestimating Hammond. Their very eagerness to be rid of him, their certainty—in the Mercury—that he stood no chance, and the bitterness with which they attacked his motives in coming forward indicate that they were protesting too much. One move was to spread the rumor that he had withdrawn or that he would do so. This was denied, immediately and emphatically. Then they induced James M. Walker, one of his lukewarm Charleston friends, to ask to be released from his pledge to vote for him. Hammond at once released not only Walker, but Ker Boyce and Magrath, his other Charleston pledges, as well. And the wary caution of Boyce's letter accepting his release made Hammond's chances seem indeed slim.[25]

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[20] Hammond to Pickens, January 18, 1840; Pickens to Hammond, January 22, 1840; S. H. Butler to Hammond, February 5, 1840.

[21] Calhoun to Hammond, February 23, 1840, Calhoun Corr.; S. H. Butler to Hammond, March 11, 1840.

[22] Pickens to Hammond, March 17, 1840.

[23] Hammond to General Hamilton, April 13, 1840, Draft.

[24] Hammond to Calhoun, April 19, May 4, 31, 1840, all in Calhoun Corr.

[25] James M. Walker to Hammond, April 20, 1840; Hammond to

If Hammond could not be forced or bullied to withdraw, possibly he could be induced to do it. Certainly the Richardson supporters tried to buy him off. Walker, at the time he asked to be released from his pledge, thought Hammond could have the senatorship next time for withdrawing now.[26] Hammond himself says that he had been "repeatedly sounded as to the succession next time & as to the U. S. senatorship at the first vacancy."[27] Even Pickens pointed out that there were advantages in a withdrawal and said that Calhoun had asked him to say that a withdrawal now would strengthen his future position.[28] But Hammond said to them all that he would not be bought off.

"Met Judge Earle here [Pendleton] this evening . . . he was very *tight* that is tipsy. . . . Finally called me a Clay man. . . . He has been to Limestone Springs where the Elmores are & this is there move against me. . . . He says the Clay men claim me. I have never given them any reason."[29]

And that is true. Hammond liked Van Buren but little better than Clay, but he thought the President's course so far favorable to the South, and he was willing to continue to support him while it continued to be so. That was Hammond's attitude from first to last in private and in public, yet his opponents said or insinuated early and late that he was a Harrison man, and against the Sub-Treasury. Did it mean nothing, asked the Mercury, that the only Bank organ in Charleston was chosen for nomination against Richardson.[30] The charge was picked up and used and it grew. Hammond was invited to a Harrison meeting on the strength

A. G. Magrath, April 23, 1840, to Ker Boyce, April 23, 1840; Ker Boyce to Hammond, April 27, 1840. Theo. Starke wrote a week or so later that Boyce (he spells it Bois) was for Hammond but did not dare come out and say so. If this so, the Rhetts did own Charleston.

[26] Jas. M. Walker to Hammond, April 20, 1840.

[27] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, April 30, 1840.

[28] Pickens to Hammond, May 28, 1840.

[29] Diary, August 18, 1839.

[30] Mercury, February 14, 1840.

of it.[31] Barnwell Rhett said specifically that he could prove that Hammond had been nominated by Calhoun's enemies, Preston, Thompson, Adams and Pierce Butler for the sole purpose of breaking down Calhoun.[32] The rumor was industriously spread that Hammond had turned from Van Buren to Harrison.[33] In order to combat it Hammond wrote and gave to Whitfield Brooks a formal statement of his position on the presidential candidates. Because it so definitely represents his stand and because it was so widely spread abroad, it deserves quotation:

> I have never . . . hesitated to express my opinions on the subject [of the presidential election]. I confess that Mr. Van Buren has agreeably disappointed me in the firmness and consistency with which he has administered the Government and that his leading measures so far, have met my cordial approbation. Without pledging myself to any indiscriminate support of his administration, I have no hesitation, now, in saying that I prefer him to Gen. Harrison, upon every ground, and am under existing circumstances in favor of his re-election.
>
> I have always been an advocate of the Independent Treasury, with the specie feature.[34]

The letter to Brooks had a wide circulation. A reference in it to the Preston men as a faction naturally displeased them, but it proportionately pleased the Sub-Treasury men and "almost induced Col. Godwin" to take him up.[35] The Richardson forces fixed attention on the qualified nature and what they said was the late appearance of his support of the President and claimed that their man had been a firm adherent of Van Buren for a much longer time. This the Hammond forces were quite ready to admit. The best position for a Carolinian was one of very qualified support of Mr. Van Buren, such as Calhoun and McDuffie gave him. Richardson had truly supported him longer, "back even as far as the time of nullification."[36] And no Car-

[31] Invitation, May 16, 1840 in Hammond MSS.
[32] S. H. Butler to Hammond, March 11, 1840.
[33] J. P. Carroll to Hammond, May 24, 1840; Whitfield Brooks to Hammond, May 25, 1840.
[34] Hammond to Whitfield Brooks, June 1, 1840. Draft in Hammond MSS. It was also published in the Courier of August 3, 1840, and earlier in the Edgefield Advertiser.
[35] M. Laborde to Hammond, July 27, 1850.
[36] "Sub-Treasury" in Mercury, July 30, 1840.

olinian needed to be told what support of Van Buren had meant seven years before.

The charge that Hammond was a Harrison-Preston man, though it was not true, had yet that color of truth which is fully sufficient for a political opponent. It was never at any time directly charged that Hammond was in favor of Harrison or of a United States Bank. It was done by innuendo. Why, asked the Richardson men, did Hammond choose a Bank paper for his nomination? Over and over again the Rhett men reiterated the statement that he was supported by men of known anti-Sub-Treasury belief. In this there was much truth. Hammond had at one time been a friend of Preston and of Thompson. He had been in familiar correspondence with both while he was in Europe. Pierce Butler, who had been and still was his familiar friend, was an undoubted Whig. General Hamilton, a Harrison man, wrote to the Edgefield Advertiser,[37] favoring him in the most positive terms, and though it appeared under an assumed name, the Rhetts probably knew who wrote it. Hammond usually knew who their writers were. Hammond's position on the charges was truthful as well as upstanding and correct. There was no truth in the charges that he was linked in the fight with Preston. If Preston's friends around Columbia were—and Hammond admitted they were—working for him, they were his friends first. But Hammond's personal friendship with Preston, and Butler and Player he had not given up and did not intend to give up.[38]

Hammond's main attacks on Richardson were attempts to show that he was not an original Sub-Treasury man, and even more forcefully to show that he was an original Union man in 1832,[39] Union even to the point of resisting nullification by force. This nullification argument narrowed down to what Hammond's friends used to call the Clarendon

[37] Pierce Butler to Hammond, April 27, 1840.
[38] Hammond to Ker Boyce, April 10, 1840.
[39] Hammond to T. T. Player, September 9, 1840.

conspiracy. It would not do to use the mere fact of having been a Union man, for too many of Hammond's supporters had been Union men, but his opponent was "a confederate in a conspiracy to resist by force the fundamental law of South Carolina."[40] One man told Hammond he had seen a copy of the Clarendon resolutions[41] with Richardson's name signed to them.[42] That Richardson had been ready for physical opposition to nullification his forces denied as categorically as they dared. It "is news to those who know Col. R. best and most intimately" that he raised a company to resist the state, or that he had regarded the nullification proclamation as the only orthodox commentary on the constitution.[43] The charge, if true, was so damning to Richardson's chances that it worried his followers for several weeks. One of his supporters denied that it was true that he had ever approved of the principles of the nullification proclamation, and said that he had positively not had a part in any military organization of any party to resist the constitutional authorities of the State.[44] Yet Richardson's managers knew his past history was not calculated to appeal to a fervid Carolinian. The only statement over Richardson's own name urged the people to forget the past and resist a protective tariff.[45] Forget, that is, the signature to the Clarendon resolutions and the vote to table the Sub-Treasury bill, which could not be explained away, and resist a measure which every good Carolinian would surely resist, but one unlikely to need much active resistance until after the contested governorship was over.

[40] Player to Hammond, September 28, 1840.

[41] The Clarendon resolutions were passed at Clarendon, South Carolina, August 2, 1834. The fifth one pledged the signers to resist the test oath "with all the means with which God and nature have endowed them" (Courier, July 16, 1840).

[42] Paul Quattlebum to the Mercury, August 21, 1840, published in the Courier, September 28, 1840.

[43] "One of the People," in the Mercury, June 12, 1840; "State Rights Democratic Party," Mercury, June 12, 1840.

[44] A Nullifier, Mercury, July 31, 1840.

[45] J. P. Richardson to John A. Stuart, Mercury, September 12, 1840.

By early fall Hammond was beginning to lose hope. News from the upper country was especially discouraging. York, Union, Spartanburg and Greenville were almost sure to go against him. Clowney, who was one of the leaders in that region, was an old friend of Elmore and would probably go with him. More important still, Clowney was an old friend and close admirer of Calhoun, and, despite the Senator's promises of neutrality, it was the current belief that he favored Richardson. All of Union District assumed this, and even Hammond's friend who told him of it did not question its truth.[46] It was also believed that there had been a dicker on the United States senatorship between the Union and State Rights sides. The legislature of 1839, besides displaying great unanimity for Richardson, had reproved Preston in terms severe enough to have drawn a resignation from most men. Preston did not resign then, but according to a rumor current especially in the up country around October, 1840, he and his friends had agreed that he would resign and permit the choice of a State Rights senator, and the Union party could pick the 1840 governor. Preston did not resign until 1842, but it was none the less a talking point in favor of Richardson and two at least of Hammond's close friends wrote that it was costing him votes.[47]

By the last of October when the returns for the State elections were in, and it was possible to see exactly who would be the men to elect the governor, Hammond was sure he would not be the man.[48] Nor was he. The election gave Richardson 104 votes and Hammond 47. All Richardson's opponents together did not get votes enough to defeat him, had they been concentrated on one man.[49]

When at the close of the legislature in 1840 Hammond

[46] Bird M. Pearson to Hammond, October 7, 1840; Sub-Treasury in Mercury, July 30, 1840.
[47] Bird M. Pearson to Hammond, October 7, 1840; F. W. Pickens to Hammond, January 12, 1840; October 16, 1840.
[48] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, October 28, 1840.
[49] Courier, December 11, 1840.

left the bachelor quarters he had been keeping in his splendid new house in Columbia and returned to Silverton to his family and his planting, he was lonely and beaten in spirit. Nullifiers who should have befriended him had helped carry more than thirty old Nullification votes for Richardson, and only two or three Union men had gone for him. The last minute withdrawal of Judge Johnson had also worked against him.[50] None of his subsequent defeats—and he had more than one which left him in a far more unfavorable position—left him so defeated in spirit.[51]

Hammond declared that he was tired of politics and forever done with it, yet all the while the question whether he should be the next candidate for governor was of much interest to him. He could have had the succession for withdrawing, but, not having done that, he was uncertain how far his defeat had cooled the ardor of his friends for him. Particularly did he want to know what Calhoun thought, "& how far my continuing to run against his wishes have affected me in his good opinion."[52] In the middle of February he received practically a direct offer of the office for 1842. M. E. Carn, who was, as Hammond knew, in touch with the Regency,[53] said that he had been asked by a "leading gentleman in the lower country to say that opposition to him had not been personal, and that they would be glad to elect him governor next time, if only he were willing to run." Then came what Hammond thought was the point of the whole matter. It would probably

[50] All of Johnson's Union votes went to Richardson and only part of his State Rights votes went to Hammond. Had Johnson stayed in, Richardson would not have been elected on the first ballot, and on the second ballot Richardson would have been withdrawn and Hammond could have beaten Johnson (Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, December 14, 1840).

[51] "I want some one," he wrote to I. W. Hayne, "to whom I could pour out myself & with whom I could commune in spirit & in truth. . . . I wish I had some one here who could understand & appreciate all this" (Hammond to I. W. Hayne, January 21, 1841, Draft).

[52] Hammond to Pickens, January 27, 1841, Draft, Extract.

[53] The Regency was Hammond's name for the Low Country Rhett group.

provoke opposition to have him nominated by any of those who acted with him last time. Such a course was understood to have the support of the "Big Ones" in Washington.[54] Hammond told Carn that if Rhett, for he assumed that it was he, wanted only to support him next time, he would be glad to run if his friends thought it best. If, however, Rhett meant to draw him away from his old and tried followers—and the hint of trouble if he were put up by them seemed to hint as much—he repelled the offer with scorn.[55] His friends were afraid Rhett would succeed in alienating them and he thought it necessary to explain to them why it seemed better, not definitely to repel Rhett's offer. The only objection to accepting it was that perhaps they would surrender too much and have it used against them, but he was determined to surrender nothing and would promise Rhett nothing more than a fair deal. After all, as Hammond reminded them, the Regency had beaten them rather badly. Why, then, should they in turn declare war, and war to extinction, on the successful party?[56]

During the early spring the governorship situation remained calm. Columbia was still lively with parties and balls, but politics was not much discussed. Hammond was listless and drowsy, in spite of gayeties and the fine house he had just built in Columbia, which he liked better the longer he was in it. He met Rhett at Gillisonville, while he was on a militia tour, but the other made no reference to the governorship, though Hammond knew by word of mouth that his terms had been accepted.[57]

When Rhett's answer came, though it was rather cool, it acceded to Hammond's conditions. Rhett had meant only that he should be nominated by the Democratic party to which they all belonged and that Calhoun had suggested the plan. That this had been the original plan of the Rhetts, Hammond did not for an instant believe. If they could

[54] M. E. Carn to Hammond, February 15, 1841.
[55] Hammond to M. E. Carn, March 19, 1841, Draft.
[56] Hammond to James M. Walker, March 26, 1841, Draft.
[57] Diary, May 20, 1841.

induce the next governor to take his nomination from them alone, it was entirely to their advantage to have him do so, and at any rate it was worth trying. Besides the reasonableness of this belief, he had the strongest sort of confirmation from Carn who was still acting as a go-between. Carn said that he had certainly understood Rhett to propose that Hammond be nominated exclusively by the party with which he worked and not from his own friends. "Mr. Rhett distinctly recommended that we should keep perfectly quiet and let the whole matter be brought about on his side." [58] Perhaps it was sufficient that Rhett now consented to a general nomination.

Late in August James M. Walker nearly ruined the situation by issuing a series of letters over the signature of "Wardlaw." They were an attack on the Bank of the State of South Carolina,[59] and though it was not true, the rumor got abroad that Hammond had assisted in their preparation if he had not written them himself. This was unfortunate, for the Bank was a power in the State and the fact that Hammond had allowed himself to be elected a director in the Columbia branch only that summer made an attack on it by him look like a piece of treachery.[60] He wrote, as soon as he heard of the rumor, to Walker the author of the letters, to C. R. Carroll who had told him of the effect of them, and to F. H. Elmore, the president of the Bank, showing or saying that he had not known of the writing of them until after they were published, and the matter died away, leaving the politicians pacified, but the debtors of the Bank one and all against the Hammond forces, as he was to find out later.[61]

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[58] M. E. Carn to Hammond, June 14, September 2, 1841; Diary, June 20, 1841.

[59] The Bank of the State of South Carolina should not be confused with the State Bank of South Carolina or with the Bank of South Carolina. The existence of the three banks with names so similar at one and the same time is proved by the appearance of advertisements of the three in the newspapers on the same day.

[60] Diary, June 14, 1841.

[61] Ibid., August 19, 26, 31, 1841; Hammond to C. R. Carroll, August 31, 1841; Hammond to James M. Walker, September 9, 1841.

Hammond was very busy during the fall and early winter over the anniversary address before the State Agricultural Society, so that he did not spend much time worrying over the governorship. The slight opposition was dying down. It was very strongly rumored that the candidacy of Hammond had the support of Calhoun, or even that it had been started at his suggestion, and Frank Pickens came to favor him decidedly. The death of B. T. Elmore,[62] on September 18, 1841, harmonized Columbia politics, as Hammond had thought it would. By the end of the year Hammond was as surely governor as if it had been a year later and he already inaugurated. The Regency held a meeting, a caucus probably, in Columbia, December 16, 1841, during the session of the legislature. Present were F. H. Elmore, the Rhetts, Burt, McWillie, Fair, Davie, Governor Richardson, J. E. Henry, Manning, young Gregg and James Chesnut of Camden, and possibly a few more. The meeting was called to organize opposition to Hammond for governor, but it was found that he was too strong to risk dividing the party by running a candidate against him, so it was decided to support him instead. The final decision was of course communicated to him, but not the original purpose of the meeting.[63] Yet Hammond knew he was not the real choice of the party. Rhett and the other Richardson men wanted McDuffie, and R. B. Rhett wanted to support him even if he was not a candidate. Albert Rhett had sent word that he would support Hammond if the caucus nominated him, or if it nominated no one, but that if it nominated some one else of whom he (Rhett) could approve, he would support the nominee. "It is clear," exulted Hammond, "I am a bitter pill to them." [64]

[62] Hammond said of him after his death that he bore him (Elmore) no malice and always acknowledged his excellent qualities, but he went on to say that he had been his bitterest, most active enemy, the main prop of a certain blackguard politician, and the connecting link between the vulgar and genteel Democracy of Richland (Diary, October 6, 1841).

[63] Diary, December 16, 19, 1841: Report of remarks made in the South Carolina House of Representatives, by J. E. Henry, December 13, 1842.

[64] Diary, December 16, 19, 1841.

One or two minor honors which came to Hammond in the course of the year showed the growth of his popularity and may well have led his opponents to conclude that he could not safely be passed by again. In April he was elected general of the State militia. Since the stirring days of '32 and '33, Hammond had not lost his interest in the militia and on several previous occasions he would have been elected, but for a technicality in the militia laws. Undoubtedly the recognition was grateful to him.[65] To the end of his days he was addressed oftener as General Hammond than by whatever correct title happened to be his. A little later he was elected a director in the Columbia branch of the Bank of the State of South Carolina. With his usual bitterness he notes that it is a "post of much responsibility & no profit & I only accept it to learn something of the way of business."[66] More significant politically was his election as trustee of the college late in November. The trustees of the college were elected by the legislature and the men who elected him trustee were with few exceptions the same ones who, a year later, elected him governor.[67]

During this same session of the legislature, Hammond delivered the anniversary oration of the State Agricultural Society which he had helped found in 1839. It was a calm, reasoned production, based on his ten years experience as a planter, and looking forward along lines which South Carolina was to find only much later were the best for her to follow. His theme was, briefly, that the production of cotton in South Carolina was fast outstripping its consumption and that the State must replace it with something more profitable. What he really thought the best thing to do was to turn from agriculture to manufacturing. The water power in the State was—and is—excellent, and the slaves could be trained to perform nearly all the operations of a cotton factory. To the settlement of these difficulties and

[65] Ibid., February 8, 1841.
[66] Ibid., June 14, 1841.
[67] Ibid., November 28, 1841.

the inevitable dislocations and losses attendant upon the transition he urged the Agricultural Society to address itself. The oration was a great success. It satisfied the expectations of those who already new his abilities as a planter and a thinker, and it attracted the attention of all who were interested in the future of South Carolina. If, as seems clearly true, a large part of Hammond's great influence in the State came from his recognized preeminence as a planter, then this oration is a distinct factor in that recognition. "It was universally said it would prevent any opposition to me for Gov.," [68] he recorded a few days later.

At the last minute there was an attempt at opposition. When Hammond came to Columbia in early December, he declined to electioneer, and accordingly refused to go to the State House or call on any of the members of the legislature. His aloofness offended some, and others personally hostile to him joined to raise opposition on the cry that he was a Rhett man. Finally R. F. W. Allston was induced to run against him, and the opposition was serious, for Allston got 76 votes to Hammond's 83.[69] Hammond was not cast down over this close vote, for he believed the opposition was not so much against him as against the Rhetts, his supposed backers.[70]

During the session of the legislature in which Hammond was inaugurated, the governor was authorized to substitute military schools for the hired guard at the Charleston and Columbia arsenals.[71] What influence Hammond was able

[68] Ibid., November 28. 1841. The oration was widely published in pamphlet form. There is a copy in the Charleston Library (A. Pm., Series 5, vol. iv, No. 14), and one in the Library of Congress, among the Reynolds pamphlets, as yet otherwise unclassified. (The present [1919] number is AC 901 R4, vol. x.)

[69] Ibid., December 8, 1841. Hammond knew who these last-minute leaders were and characterized them in his usual style: Bill Myers, a notorious black-guard; William H. Gist; Louis T. Wigfall, an Edgefield bravo; F. J. Moses of Sumter; A. D. Sims, a sot; G. W. Dargan.

[70] Ibid., December 19, 1842.

[71] Proclamation of Governor Hammond, December 21, 1842, in the Mercury for January 2, 1843; Reports and Resolutions of the South Carolina Legislature, 1842; Journals of the South Carolina Legislature, 1842.

to exercise over the legislature whose head he had so recently been elected to be, is uncertain, for neither his papers nor the records of that body show. Certain it is, however, that he entered heartily into the proposed change and furthered it in all ways at his command. Such a plan had ten years before been one of his favorite ideas. As long ago as 1833, he had included in his recommendations to Governor Hayne a strong plea for a military professorship in the South Carolina College.[72]

What Hammond himself felt to be the most important measure of his career as governor, so far as what he would have called national as distinguished from federal affairs, was his attack on the Bank of the State of South Carolina. His dislike of banks was of long standing. As far back as 1837, he thought that "There is no argument in favour of a national bank that may not be used in favour of a despotism," and even earlier he had expressed the opinion, not perhaps to be wondered at in a man at once young and wealthy, that "Banks any way as connected merely with the currency are of very questionable utility."[73] But the Bank was powerful. He himself had felt its power. The mere suspicion, and that unfounded, that he, while a director in the Columbia branch, had written or even countenanced the letters of "Wardlaw" attacking it, had very nearly wrecked his chances of being governor. It had a capital of between three and four millions, which it could and did use in furthering the political ambitions of its president and directors.

To an attack on the Bank, Hammond devoted a great part of his first annual message. The Bank could not pay the principal of the public debt of the State from its profits in less than a century, and certainly would not use its

[72] Hammond to Governor Hayne, November 7, 1833, Draft. Another favorite project which he was able to put through, was an agricultural survey of the State (Mercury, January 20, July 31, 1842; June 20, July 31, 1843); Hammond, Letters and Speeches, p. 93; Ruffin, Agricultural Survey.

[73] Diary, November 2, 1837; Hammond to Wm. C. Preston, June 12, 1834, Drafted.

principal to that end without compulsion. Therefore, Hammond recommended that the Bank be required, upon penalty of forfeiture of its charter, to purchase and to cancel every year $500,000 worth of bonds besides paying the interest on the remainder. This it could do without being thrown into liquidation, and even if it were forced out of existence the State would only be getting rid of two evils at one time.[74] When this part of the Governor's message was reported back from the Committee on Ways and Means, C. G. Memminger, chairman, it followed Hammond's recommendations almost to the letter. An accompanying bill to required the payment of $400,000 yearly by the Bank passed by a good majority, despite the efforts of the Bank people to have "require" changed to "empower," and despite the opposition of the Mercury.[75] Hammond, although he thus attacked the Bank, was not at enmity with the Bank people. He was a director in the Columbia branch. From Memminger, close friend of Elmore, its president, he got much of the information he needed to write his message. Indeed, he told Elmore himself more than a month before the beginning of the session what he expected to say about the Bank and sent him proof-sheets of the message several days before it was delivered.[76]

In the second year of his governorship Hammond became involved in a controversy with the Jews of Charleston. By proclamation of September 9, 1844, he set aside the first Thursday in October, for thanksgiving, and called on all the people to meet on that day and "offer up their devotions to God the Creator, and his son Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the World."[77] To this mention of Christ the Jews took instant and fervid, perfervid exception. When

[74] Annual Message, November 28, 1843, in Letters and Speeches, pp. 54–64.

[75] Hammond's Diary, January 31, 1844; Hammond to Gilmore Simms, January 9, 1844 (misplaced as of June 9); Elmore MSS., Library of Congress, passim; Mercury, December 2, 4, 8, 1843.

[76] Diary, January 31, 1844; James M. Walker to Hammond, July 16, 1843; Hammond to Simms, October 4, 1843.

[77] Charleston Mercury, September 13, 1844.

the third of October came, neither of the two congregations of Jews in the city opened its doors. A letter signed by A. Moise, Jr., and more than a hundred others, declared that the proclamation, by mentioning Jesus, was an obvious and gratuitous exclusion of the Jews, a mockery and an insult. "We trust that for your own reputation you will . . . [before the end of the term] remove the impression which the act in question has made upon the minds of a large portion of your constituents." Hammond stiffened under the threat and, like an indignant Carolina gentleman, replied that he had not intended to wound the Jews but at the same time he would not have changed his language, had he known their feeling: that though himself not an acknowledged Christian, yet as a dweller in a Christian land, he refused to be called to account for calling Christ the Redeemer. His reply was far from satisfying the Jews. They held a meeting, and denounced it as erroneous, a misstatement, sarcastic, bad-tempered and in bad taste. Nor was the tempest without a political cast. Governor Aiken, Hammond's successor, in a proclamation issued the very day he took office, in terms gave up to the Jews the very point in controversy, though he later denied any intention of reflecting on Hammond.[78]

If Hammond stood alone in his letter to the Jews, in another and vastly more important incident occurring about the same time he had the State and the entire South behind him. South Carolina provided, by a law of 1835, that all free negroes arriving in her limits by boat should be arrested and imprisoned until their vessel was ready to leave and should then leave on her.[79] The Northern States all objected to this law, but only Massachusetts took any action. In 1843, in accordance with a resolve of the State legis-

[78] Hammond to Colonel R. Q. Pinckney, September 28, 1844, A. Draft Signed; William Yeadon to Hammond, October 14, 1844; Charleston papers of November 20, 1844; Diary, November 21, December 12, 1844, February 8, 1845; William Aiken to Hammond, January 14, 24, 1845; F. W. Olmsted to Hammond, January 17, 1845; A. H. Pemberton to Hammond, February 8, 1845.

[79] Mercury, November 13, 1843. Louisiana had a similar law.

lature, she appointed B. F. Hunt of Charleston, South Carolina, her agent to represent the rights of her colored citizens detained at Charleston upon their arrival there as seamen and gave him power to take the question to the United States Supreme Court. Hunt refused to accept.[80] The next year, Massachusetts, undiscouraged—and unenlightened—"appointed the Hon. Samuel Hoar of Concord, to reside at Charleston, . . . under the Resolves of March 24, 1843 and March 16, 1844, with regard to citizens of Massachusetts imprisoned in other states." Hoar made his way to Charleston, took up his residence there and obtained J. L. Petigru for his counsel. Meanwhile, Governor Hammond had made a vain effort to change the law so that the negroes, instead of being jailed, should be confined to their ships. His effort failed, it was said, because the British consul at Charleston was too pugnacious about it.

As soon as Hoar arrived, the people of Charleston requested him to leave, but he refused to go. Hammond at once communicated to the legislature the letter he received from Hoar, announcing his mission. The legislature passed, practically unanimously, resolutions directing Hammond to expel Hoar from the State, and giving him unlimited authority for doing so. Hammond determined that Hoar, and through him, Massachusetts, must realize that the expulsion was the quiet, deliberate action of the State of South Carolina and not a case of hysterical mob spirit. "It is the State of South Carolina which speaks and acts." When the officials sent for the purpose arrived in Charleston, they found Hoar preparing to leave in response to a second invitation from the Charlestonians, so that no use of force was necessary. Perhaps he had already fulfilled the purpose for which he had been sent.

In itself the expulsion of Hoar was not a very important affair, yet through it one catches a glimpse of the lack of any real unity in the Union at this time. The appointment

[80] John A. Maybin of New Orleans received a similar appointment for that port, which he likewise refused. It does not appear why Massachusetts thought the men would accept.

made by Massachusetts without finding out whether the man selected would accept was a misstep, and the terms in which public opinion in Massachusetts refers to the appointment of Hoar were provocative. "Prejudice even cannot connect his mission with fanatical scheming or mischievous agitation. He goes under the authority of the Commonwealth, to investigate the fact with regard to the alleged oppression of our citizens . . . and to attempt to put the questions which restrict those rights under the laws of South Carolina, into such form that they may be adjudicated by the Courts of the United States, and the constitutionality of those laws may be tested." And South Carolina spoke unofficially but emphatically: "The insolence and impertinence of this abolition move is insufferable, if it turns out not to be a hoax (the absence of formal credentials beyond the mere *ipse dixit* of the man who writes himself Hoar *is* suspicious) . . . but we learn that Massachusetts had offered a similar agency to lawyers in Charleston before, and been refused. She may therefore have now sent her own men to begin the war, and make a direct issue with us on abolition. The State will meet it in such a way as to preclude all chance of Federal interference, *it is to be presumed,* and thus make direct battle with our abolition enemies." [81]

Throughout Hammond's governorship he was much concerned with Federal relations. He took office at a time when indignation over the tariff of August 1842 was still great in South Carolina, where it was the general understanding that the tariff of 1832 expired in 1842, and that a new act must be passed before any revenue whatever could be collected.[82] The act of September 11,

[81] Mercury, November 13, 23, December 18, 19, 1843; December 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 21, 1844. This includes quotations from the Boston Atlas, the Baltimore Sun, and the Journal of Commerce; Diary, January 31, December 1, 7, 1844; Hammond to Henry Bailey, December 5, 1844, Draft Signed; P. S. Brooks to Hammond, December 6, 1844; "Treatment of Hoar by South Carolina."

[82] For a strong presentation of this view see the dissenting opinion of Justice McLean in, Aldridge V. Williams, 3 How., 9. Taussig thinks the point very well taken.

1841, had produced far from sufficient revenue and the government was in actual need of funds. When the distinctively protective tariff of August 30, 1842 had been rushed into legal force, South Carolina was highly indignant. Threats of nullification were everywhere in the air, and Hammond, as soon as he had digested the new measure, conferred with the more influential members of his party, especially with Pickens and with Calhoun. Calhoun leaned more to nullification than he would have wanted most men to know. Pickens was very strongly against nullification and practically told Calhoun that he would not be able to put it through this time.[83] To Hammond he gave advice to have the legislature pass some sort of resolutions on the tariff but to be sure that they were moderate in tone, with no threat. Calhoun thought he ought in his inaugural to take "strong grounds against the Tariff; and to denounce it as unconstitutional, unjust, unequal, inexpedient, anti-Republican and pernicious in its effect morally and politically; but at the same time express your confidence that the great popular party of the country, whose only safe ground to stand on is strict adherence to the constitution and justice and equality between citizen and citizen, state and state, and section and section, will rise in its might and put it down . . . advert to the circumstances under which the bill was passed and . . . express a deep regret, that any member of the great popular party should have voted, from any consideration, in its favour."[84]

Hammond's own inmost convictions were not revealed to any one at this time, or even entered in his diary until a later date. Briefly, they were that the only sure remedy for the South against Northern aggression was a dissolution of the one Union, already existing, and the formation from it of two others. He was not ready to propose that action

[83] F. W. Pickens to Calhoun, November 8, 1842, Calhoun Corr.

[84] Hammond Papers, John C. Calhoun to Hammond, September 24, [1842]. Dr. Jameson includes this letter in his Calhoun Correspondence, but gives it date of 1841. It is well to be cautious in criticizing Dr. Jameson's editing, but external and internal evidence is against him on this point.

on account of disagreement over the tariff. Nullification he no longer thought either constitutional or peaceful. But this he told no one, and there was much reason in what he did say, that they ought to try everything before resorting to nullification, since the tariff seemed sure to be repealed, as Calhoun and Pickens both pointed out.[85]

During 1844 the Texas question was added to the tariff as a cause of excitement in South Carolina. Of the founding and independence of Texas, its early efforts to join the United States, and the rejection of those efforts by Van Buren with the consequent disappointment of Calhoun and, through him, of Carolina, and there is not space here to speak. In 1843 it was noised abroad that Great Britain and France were interesting themselves in Texas, in order to bring about the abolition of slavery and to secure such a source of cotton supply as Texas represented. Both of these projects South Carolina was sure to oppose. Meetings favoring annexation of Texas were held throughout the State all during 1844.[86] Late in the session of Congress which ended in June the South Carolina members tried to have an address in favor of a Southern convention sent out in the name of all the Southern members, but it failed because every one was interested in the presidential election. Then Rhett drew up and McDuffie and most of the South Carolina delegation signed an address to their constituents recommending separate State action by a convention the following spring, but, said Hammond, "at the eleventh hour Calhoun came in & broke it up . . . chanting praises of the Union and to peace." [87]

[85] Diary, October 25, 1844; Hammond to J. C. Calhoun, September 10, 1842.

[86] At Buford's Bridge, Barnwell, it was resolved, on May 23, that the Southern States had better "stand out of the Union with Texas than in it, without her," and that no one would be supported for president who did not favor annexation (Mercury, May 27, 1844). Calhoun had taken up the work of the State Department April 1, 1844. Another meeting in Barnwell passed similar resolutions (Mercury, May 28, 1844). See also the Mercury for June 8, 10, 15, 1844, especially.

[87] Diary, October 25, 1844. This is probably the meeting to which I. E. Holmes had reference in his speech in Charleston July 16, when

After the close of the Congress the members came back South again. Despite the precept of Calhoun, Rhett favored separate State action. On July 31, 1844, at a dinner in his honor at Bluffton he declared there was no hope in Polk or in a Southern convention, but only in nullification or secession; and he urged that a convention of the State be called, to meet at the end of the next Congress. A week or so later he spoke again in the same strain. The South must have relief from the tariff and from abolition. In State action alone had he any confidence, and this could be done only by a convention of the State of South Carolina.[88] Such a body alone, according to Carolina theory, would have the authority to pass an ordinance of secession. For this policy the wind was favorable. The blaze to Rhett's tinder was quick and hot. The Mercury declared for resistance by separate State action. Robertville gave him a dinner on August 22, St. George's another on August 26. "R. B. Rhett," said the announcements, "will address his constituents on the state of their public affairs next sale day." Against the Courier's charge that Rhett had denounced Calhoun his friends rose in defense. Saltketcher, St. Bartholemew's gave him a dinner, and a large gathering at Barnwell Court House on September 7 showed the district nearly unanimous for speedy action.[89]

Hammond himself has, fortunately for the historian, left definite statements of his ideas at this time. The Union, he felt, had been a good thing for the South. During the half century in which they had lived under it, they had prospered as at no other time in their history, but if the North continued to oppress the South on the tariff, or on slavery, the Union must break in two. The South must have

he said that at a meeting of the State delegation in Washington, Calhoun had said that "if there was any man in the Union who prized that Union more than any other man in it, he was that man" (Courier, July 18, 1844). Hammond could have had his information only from a member of Congress, and Holmes, a representative, was a correspondent of his.

[88] Mercury, August 8, 15, 1844.

[89] Ibid., August 7, 19, 21, September 10, 1844.

Texas, cost what it might, even the Union itself. Four fifths of the people believed so, he told Calhoun, and would stand by the issue if so made. His only hope was that the end, which he thought inevitable, would be peaceful.[90]

During the summer Hammond was in constant correspondence with all the leaders, especially those in a measure independent of Calhoun. Before he heard of the Bluffton speech he had in mind to send a private and confidential circular to the governors of the other Southern States, asking whether their States would support South Carolina in any measure of resistance, but from this he was dissuaded by James Hamilton, who had already said in public that the State was not ready for separate action, and that this was Calhoun's opinion.[91] A meeting in Charleston, August 19, which expressed confidence in Calhoun, an intention to await the result of the election and a hope of securing united action, he feared was a serious blow to State action.[92]

Early in October Calhoun returned to Carolina and silenced both movement and movers. "We are as calm as the dead Sea," said Hammond.[93] But Hammond, thinking the State rather silenced than convinced, and not being himself convinced, was, after his habit, not silenced.[94] It was

[90] Hammond, Inaugural Address as Governor; Hammond to J. C. Calhoun, June 7, 1844, Autograph Draft Signed; Hammond to Simms, June 18, 1844; Diary, August 7, 1844.

[91] James Hamilton to Hammond, October 4, 1844. Hamilton's advice was that South Carolina should: (1) support Polk so as to gain the support of all Southern Democrats; (2) announce to all Southern States that she did not intend to submit to the tariff of 1842; (3) declare her right under the spirit of the Constitution that slavery be not menaced on the floor of Congress; (4) call a convention of the South for Richmond, May 1, 1845; (5) if this failed, call a State convention for July 4, 1845, decide the right course against the tariff (Niles Register, vol. lxvi, pp. 420–421, 436).

[92] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, August 25, 1844; Mercury, August 21, 1844; Niles Register, vol. lxvi, pp. 314, 345, 346, 369, 434–437.

[93] Diary, October 25, 1844.

[94] During the fall of 1844, he was putting the State into position to use force against the United States if it became necessary. For instance, he sent R. F. Colcock to procure for the State accurately surveyed plans of the fortifications at Moultrie, Johnson and Castle Pinckney with notes on their strong and weak points and the best ways of attacking them; and cautioned him to move so as to conceal

well known among the leaders that the governor was considering inserting in his message a call for separate State action.[95] Hammond had lost faith in a policy of delay, and consequently in his annual address, nearly half of which was devoted to Federal affairs, he spoke as expected. With regard to the tariff, there was no hope of relief. "Our State is bound . . . and owes it to the country and herself, to adopt such measures as will at an early period bring all her moral, constitutional, and, if necessary, *physical resources,* in direct array against a policy, which had never been checked but by her interposition."[96] On abolition his recommendations were even more urgent. Emancipation was a "naked impossibility," therefore "you will be justified by God and future generations, in adopting any measure, however startling they may appear . . . you will be equally justified in taking these measures as early and decisively as in your judgment you may deem proper."[97]

Hammond was unconditionally sincere in his recommendations, yet he did not delude himself into thinking they would be adopted. "I am not aware of a single man who will openly sustain me in either branch of the Legislature." Nor was he disappointed. Pickens, who had Calhoun's ear, if he did not speak for him directly, and who already had denounced the Bluffton movement, at once introduced resolutions, in favor of delaying action and waiting on Polk and the Democrats.[98] These were passed, as one senator admitted to Hammond, because it was believed Calhoun wanted them.[99] Calhoun later declared to him that he

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the fact that he was acting for the State authorities (Hammond to R. F. Colcock, September 12, 1844).

[95] Ker Boyce to Hammond, November 4, 11, 1844; James Hamilton to Hammond, November 12, 17, 1844. Both men, old nullifiers, argued that the election of Polk bound the State to wait to see what he would do before she went further.

[96] Hammond, Letters and Speeches, pp. 94–104. The emphasis is the biographer's.

[97] Ibid., pp. 102–103.

[98] Mercury, December 2, 1844; South Carolina House and Senate Journals, p. 26.

[99] Diary, November 28, 1844.

"never had the slightest intimation of them . . . [before publication] & that he did not wholly approve of them," [100] but whether the belief in his approval was true or not, it had the effect of truth.

In the House the leader of the opposition to Hammond's views, Memminger, had the message referred to the Committee of the Whole instead of to the Committee on Federal Relations. A half dozen sets of resolutions were introduced. Memminger, avowed unbeliever in the oppressiveness of the tariff, proposed to take no "further action on that portion of the Governor's message which relates to the tariff, Texas, and to the Abolitionists." Later he withdrew his motion and proposed instead the Pickens resolutions, which had now come from the senate. Colcock defended the Bluffton Boys, as the supporters of the message were called. Hammond himself drafted resolutions declaring that Congress had repeatedly violated the constitutional provision relative to the laying and collecting of taxes and its pledge of 1833 to levy tariff for revenue only; that it had, and for an ominous reason, refused to annex Texas and that therefore there ought to be a convention of the Southern slave-holding States which South Carolina ought to initiate. Not even yet, in spite of having said that Carolina should at an early date bring even her physical resources against the United States, did he desire her to use those resources alone.[101]

Hammond felt that his position was completely vindicated when the House at Washington rescinded the rule of 1836 to exclude abolition petitions.[102] Pickens, at that time not less close to Calhoun, but less informed of his plans, introduced resolutions calling the repeal a "flagrant outrage," declaring that any legislation by Congress upon slavery

[100] Ibid., July 17, 1847. Hammond is describing a visit to McDuffie at Cherry Hill, where he met Armistead Burt and Calhoun late in May, 1847. This diary is not in the Library of Congress, in 1919.

[101] Ibid., November 28, 1844; Mercury, December 3, 1844.

[102] McDuffie prepared a joint letter showing the position of the South Carolina delegation on the repeal, but it was not sent (Hammond to McDuffie, November 27, 1844, Draft). Probably Calhoun intervened again.

would be the same as a dissolution of the Union, and calling on the governor to convene the legislature in such an event.[103] It shows the changeableness and uncertainty of the legislature that Pickens' first resolutions were passed only late in the session, and by a close vote, 57 to 39, and at the same time the second set on the removal of the Congressional gag rule were, by the same vote, 55 to 38, postponed to a day after adjournment.[104]

"You have the singular felicity of being the only Ex-Gov. extant or extinct who had carried out of office more reputation than he carried in." So wrote James M. Walker to Hammond, and Walker was not in the least an uncritical follower of the governor.[105] Undoubtedly Hammond did increase his reputation during his governorship, and in the way of all most dear to Southerners, by defense of his Southern institutions. John L. Brown, of Fairfield, South Carolina, was duly convicted in the fall of 1843 of aiding a slave to escape from her master, and in accord with law, was sentenced to be hung in April. The case occasioned no comment in Carolina, and was rarely heard of outside of Fairfield. But the Abolitionists, though ignorant of its outstanding points, took up the case, both those at the North and from Great Britain, and Hammond, to his astonishment, found himself overwhelmed with petitions.[106]

[103] Diary, December 22, 1844; F. W. Pickens to J. C. Calhoun, December 28, 1844.

[104] Mercury, December 18, 1844; Courier, December 21, 1844; Niles Register, vol. lxvii, pp. 256, 272, 196–198. Hoar's mission and expulsion occurred at this session.

[105] James M. Walker to Hammond, June 11, 1845.

[106] Several things about the case the Abolitionists did not know. Brown was not one of them, as they seemed to assume, and was not assisting the slave to freedom. Indeed, said Judge O'Neall, who sentenced him, "if he were to-day charged with being an abolitionist, he would regard it as a greater reproach than to be called a negro thief." Instead he was a dissolute, worthless fellow who kept the woman as his mistress and who aided her to escape in order either to continue this intercourse or to sell her to his own profit. Also, on account of his youth and the fact that the master recovered his slave, the sentence had been first commuted to thirty-nine lashes and later remitted entirely (John B. O'Neall to Bailie Hastie, Chairman of an anti-slavery meeting in Glasgow, Scotland, in the Mercury, August 7, 1844; John B. O'Neall to "A Loyal Fairman," March 27, 1844, in the Mercury, April 30, 1844).

To one of the memorials received, that from the Free Church of Glasgow, Hammond made reply. The law under which Brown was convicted was good old British law, and he was pardoned because Hammond did not think he had violated it. The memorial denounced slavery in the severest terms. If the Bible came from God, it was blasphemy to allege that slavery, which the Bible regulated and permitted, was a violation of right. Slave families were separated by masters less frequently than other families by circumstances. Slaves got twice the bread and twelve times the meat per week that an English operative got, to say nothing of clothing, shelter and care in old age. As to freedom, what was it and how much of it did an English factory worker possess? Compare the negro in Africa and in America and decide again whether slavery had been a curse to him.[107]

The letter attracted attention at once and won for its author golden opinions. The Mercury in publishing it called it "the ablest and most satisfactory and conclusive vindication of our Southern Slavery that we have ever witnessed in any thing like the same brief space," and said that the publication had been obtained only by repeated solicitations.[108] It also provoked replies, correspondence and criticism from the class to which it was directed. To these Hammond replied, this time in the two letters to Thomas Clarkson, longer and more leisurely than the Free Church letter but identical in attitude and generally included with it in the popular mind.

He "conscientiously believe[d] Domestic Slavery of these states to be not only an inexorable necessity for the present, but a moral and humane institution, productive of the greatest political and social advantages, and is disposed . . . to defend it on these grounds." The African slave trade he did not propose to defend though "efforts to suppress it have effected *nothing more* than a threefold increase of its

[107] Hammond, Letters and Speeches, pp. 105–113; Mercury, December 9, 1844; DeBow's Review, 1849, p. 289 ff.
[108] Mercury, December 9, 1844.

horrors." "But let us contemplate it as it is." It is not contrary to the will of God.[109] The scriptural sanction of slavery is so clear that moderate Abolitionists admit that mere slave-holding cannot be deemed sinful, and desperate radicals say that if the Bible upholds slavery, the Bible and not anti-slavery must fall.

"I endorse without reserve the much-abused sentiment of Gov. McDuffie, that 'slavery is the cornerstone of our Republican edifice' while I repudiate as ridiculously absurd, that much lauded but nowhere accredited dogma of Mr. Jefferson, that 'all men are born equal.'" It is impossible to have society without a "natural variety of classes." Only the slave-holding United States has no need of a huge standing army to overawe the lower classes. Far from being a source of weakness in time of war, our slaves would remain peaceful on the plantations and cultivate them under the superintendence of a few citizens, and we should be able to put into the field a larger force than any other nation of equal numbers.[110]

But the grand charge was that slavery gives rise to sexual licentiousness. Miss Martineau's scandalous stories were so false, said Hammond, that some wicked joker must have furnished them to her, knowing that she expected to write a book. The charge was not just or true. Among the slave-holding white people, as even the Abolitionist will admit, "there are fewer cases of divorce, separation, crim. con., seduction, rape and bastardy than among any other five millions of people on the civilized earth." Some intercourse did take place between white men and negro

[109] The Hebrews had bondmen forever, and they were embraced in the class of things forbidden to be coveted. St. Paul sent a runaway slave back to his master. To say that the Bible virtually forbids slavery because of the crimes arising from it, is to say that because adultery and theft arise only from marriage and private property, marriage and private property are virtually forbidden in the Bible. Tyre and Sidon were destroyed, not because they traded in slaves, but because they enslaved the Chosen People, and the sentence was that they themselves should be sold into slavery. So ran Hammond's argument.

[110] This, be it noted, is just what did happen during the Civil War.

women, but it was considered highly disreputable, and Miss Martineau's tale of a young man's trying to buy from a lady a colored woman with the avowed purpose of keeping her as a concubine[111] was too absurd to contradict, for any man who made such a proposition to any decent woman would be lynched. After all the number of mixed breeds was infinitely small, especially when it was considered that, from the color, no cases can be concealed.

Economically slavery was not unpaid labor. To the individual proprietor slave labor was dearer than free labor, for the slave must be paid for, fed, clothed, reared, supported, nursed and pensioned. But to the community, it was cheaper, for the pauper system of the free States was not so economical or so humane as the care given in slave States to the non-working slaves. The slave owner was not irresponsible. Laws under which he enjoyed his civil rights forbade him to kill, to overtask, to starve. There was a law prohibiting teaching slaves to read, but it was passed to prevent their being approached by Abolition writings. The slave-holder was bound as a man to treat his slaves humanely and he would lose money and social standing by being cruel to them. (Even Harriet Beecher Stowe makes the brutal Legree a Northerner.) As to cruelty, let the Abolitionist look to the treatment of the freemen of civilized nations, to English mill operatives, for example.

The race increased as fast as the white race and lived longer. Of insanity Hammond had heard of only one case twenty years ago, and of suicide also only one. The separation of families was always avoided by the owner, though the slave was usually indifferent about it, and there have been instances of slaves preferring to stay with their masters to going with their families. Religiously, more than half of the communicant members of the Methodist and Baptist churches in the South were colored. Large plantations had exercises for their own slaves.[112] Emancipation was im-

[111] Martineau, Society in America, vol. ii, p. 123.

[112] See Lippincott's Magazine, vol. lxii, p. 87 (July–December, 1898).

possible. The South could not be persuaded or moved to give up all they would have to. The results of emancipation were unfavorable in the West Indies and would be worse in the United States. Free negroes would not work while they could steal or hide. Clarkson's advice to the North to dissolve the Union if it could not gain a permanent ascendency over it came close to treason. The South venerated the Constitution but only in its integrity, and it was resolved to maintain its "*system of Domestic Slavery*" at all hazards.

An extended criticism of the letters is out of place. The literary style is excellent. They are neither unduly abstruse or absurdly simple, but readable: not abusive, like the circular they answer, but restrained in feeling; they are, in short, the work of an accomplished scholar, planter, gentleman, as one of the 1845 Fourth of July toasts called the author. As historical documents their great value lies in the fact that they expressed the inarticulate sentiments of nearly five million men and made their author the spokesman of his section.

The Free Church and Clarkson letters supplied the Southerner, whose emotions and convictions were readier than his tongue, with arguments to prove the things he already believed but could not so well express. For this reason they had a quick, immense, long-lasting vogue. They circulated first in manuscript form, and everyone who read them urged that they be published. Within a week of the completion of the first, the one to the Free Church, it was creating a sensation. They appeared simultaneously in the Carolinian and the Mercury, as well as in pamphlet form in late May and June, 1845. The day the Mercury published them, the office was besieged all day and all Charleston was reading them and talking about them.[113] The general sentiment was that Hammond had exhausted the subject and that "he absolutely [had] . . . not left the pseudo-philanthropists

[113] Simms to Hammond, [July 10, 1845].

room to die upon."[114] He received well nigh a hundred letters praising them. Men so different in political views as Harper and Preston went into raptures over them.[115] Simms thought them "by very far the best things" Hammond had ever done.[116] The Fourth of July brought Hammond more toasts than everybody else besides. The pamphlet sale was immense. The Mercury had to print an extra edition of fifteen thousand copies of the issue in which they appeared.[117] There was a free circulation of five thousand in Charleston alone. Men bought them by the dozen, by the fifties, by the hundreds. They were translated into French by a member of the Chambre des Députés and circulated all over Europe.[118] One man wrote from Scotland to say that they had convinced him of the divine approval of slavery.[119] To the end of his life Hammond continued to receive letters praising them and asking for more copies. One man had lent his so often that it was worn out. J. D. B. DeBow republished them in his Review and called them "admirable and unanswerable . . . one of the most forceful exhibitions of the question in every possible point of view."[120] They were republished in 1853 in a volume with several articles by other men of the South under the title of the "Pro-Slavery Argument," and again in 1860, with Christy's "Cotton is King," they appeared in the volume "Cotton is King and Pro-Slavery Arguments."

[114] William Washington to Hammond, June 17, 1845.
[115] J. L. Clark to Hammond, June 27, 1845.
[116] Simms to Hammond, [July 10, 1845].
[117] A. P. Aldrich to Hammond, July 1, 1845.
[118] J. L. Clark to Hammond, June 27, 1845; Diary, March 16, 1845; George McDuffie to Hammond, March 15, 1845. This of course relates only to the Free Church letter; there had not yet been time to circulate the Clarkson letters, of January, 1845.
[119] Alexander Dunlop of Gairbraid, Scotland, to Hammond, September 1, 1845.
[120] DeBow's Review, vol. vii, p. 289, ff., 1849.

CHAPTER IV

Hammond in Retirement

At the close of his governorship Hammond left Columbia and returned to Silverton permanently. He came back for a day or two in April and in September 1845, but outside of that he returned no more for ten or fifteen years. He thus withdrew himself from actual participation, but he did not lose his interest in public affairs, either of the State or the federal government. British relations held his attention. He had been delighted with Calhoun's letter to Packenham about abolition in Texas;[1] he was more than pleased with the senator's course on Oregon in the Senate. "Calhoun has taken a noble stand [on the Oregon question]. . . . He at once declared himself for peace and breasted the popular current. I . . . really feel as though I may have in my thoughts done injustice to him as a man of firmness and lofty purposes. If he goes through this without flinching I shall rank his qualities far higher than I have done."[2]

The struggle just then active in the State on the question

[1] Hammond to Calhoun, May 10, 1844, Calhoun Corr. Aberdeen told Packenham to say that Great Britian would neither secretly nor openly resort to any measures which could tend to disturb the tranquility of the slaveholding States of the United States. But he had at the same time admitted that Great Britian was constantly trying to bring about the abolition of slavery throughout the world. Calhoun answered that Great Britian's extension of her abolition program from her own possessions to the outside world presented to the United States the vital danger of an abolition frontier on the southwest, and that to avoid it the United States had concluded a treaty of annexation with Texas. What Hammond most applauded —and what the North most opposed—were statistics to show that the negro's condition had deteriorated greatly in those places in which abolition had been tried (Calhoun, Works, vol. v, pp. 333–339).

[2] Polk in his annual message favored and urged the giving of notice to great Britian of the termination of joint occupancy of Oregon. War seemed inevitable, and Calhoun, acting now with the Whigs, favored the proposal to give notice (Diary, February 14, 1846). For Calhoun's attitude, see Calhoun to J. E. Calhoun, December 14, 1845; to T. G. Clemson, December 26, 1845; to F. W. Pickens, August 21, September 23, 1845.

of the choice of presidential electors attracted Hammond's attention. Hammond very frankly and very decidedly opposed giving that or any other election to the people.[3] In 1846 when a general election was about to be held there was great clamor in Charleston for the popular vote. In August a writer in the Courier, whose pseudonym of Jackson would indicate concurrence in the former president's mode of thought, urged the change upon the ground that the legislature is not the state within the meaning of the federal Constitution.[4] Hammond wrote for the Mercury an article, signed Falkland, opposing the change on the ground that the people should not hold any elections which could as well be managed by responsible agents already chosen, since the electors would be virtually chosen by self-constituted caucuses.[5] A few years later he changed his mind on this subject.[6]

By the summer of 1846 Hammond's attention was turning more and more toward his election to the United States Senate.[7] Even during his governorship, his friends had often presumed that his election to the Senate was a matter of a very short time.[8] By the summer of 1845 when his Clarkson letters were so popular the matter began to attract some attention. Men from all over the State began to urge him to consent to go to the Senate.[9] General McDuffie's resigna-

[3] Alone of all the States at that time, South Carolina had her presidential electors chosen by the legislature. Of course there was a constant, though sometimes subdued, feeling against this practice; Hammond to J. A. Ashby, September 28, 1844.

[4] Constitution, Article II, section 1, clause 2.

[5] A. H. Pemberton to Hammond, October 12, 27, 1846; Diary, November 25, 1846.

[6] Hammond to Simms, September 22, 1848.

[7] He had said to himself some five years ago that there were only three offices he would really like to fill, a military generalship, the governorship, and the United States senatorship. Two of these he had gained; the third seemed in his grasp.

[8] Simms to Hammond, March 26, [1845].

[9] "We want you in Washington at this time so important to the South," wrote friend and enemy alike. Governor Aiken took the trouble to write, saying that he had heard him "mentioned throughout the country" in connection with the next senatorial election

tion was formally announced in August, 1846, and Elmore was nominated in the Mercury by Ker Boyce, supposedly with Calhoun's endorsement. The nomination was followed immediately by approving communications in the Carolinian and in the Charleston papers. Much the same thing happened to Hammond, and he was second on the Carolinian's list of candidates, but he made no campaign himself. He had said some years before that he would never canvass for the senatorship and that he might even not accept it.[10] "I am not soured. . . . I am not aspiring. I am willing to stop there,"[11] he told Simms. "If I am *drafted,* why, I must serve."[12] That was Hammond's position now, and it continued to be his attitude for the remainder of his life. Even when his rejection disappointed him most bitterly he did not consider that he had been a candidate, that he had asked and urged men to vote for him. He was only willing to accept the election. Probably his enemies said among themselves that he wanted it offered on a silver salver.

Despite Hammond's genuine indifference, his friends were far from indifferent and worked for him most zealously. When the legislature met and counted noses, Elmore's election was conceded, yet on November 29 he withdrew from the canvass.[13] With Elmore's withdrawal Hammond was the leading candidate, though Davie, Rhett, Barnwell, Pickens and one or two more were still running.

Suddenly, as Hammond told Marcellus, there was "the

(Wm. Aiken to Hammond, July 12, 1845). McDuffie sent him word that he wanted him in the Senate (B. F. Watts to Hammond, November 20, 1845).

[10] J. H. Hammond to F. W. Pickens, November 1, 1843, Draft.

[11] Hammond to Simms, February 19, 1846.

[12] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, November 2, 1846.

[13] John M. Felder to Hammond, November 23, 1846. Hammond with characteristic sardonic bitterness thought that the reasons for the withdrawal were that Elmore had secured for his foundry the contract for cannon-balls which he had desired, that his withdrawal would have been fatal to the debtors of the Bank, and most of all that he, Hammond, had fifty-five votes pledged and more coming (Hammond's Diary, December 4, 1846).

devil to pay about the Senatorial election." [14] Colonel Wade Hampton, Mrs. Hammond's brother-in-law, sent word to Hammond's friends that unless they withdrew their candidate, an exposure would be made that would prostrate him forever.[15] His friends refused to read certain documents which Hampton offered them and sent Aldrich to Hammond at Silver Bluff to get instructions. Hammond, in an open letter which he gave Aldrich to use, admitted that the Hampton difficulties arose from a great indiscretion of his, which had caused him inexpressible pain; and put upon Hampton the responsibility for the making of all disclosures. Whether Hampton did make any disclosures or not, the matter thus sprung in the midst of the election was certain to influence some votes and perhaps even to defeat Hammond, had there been no log-rolling. But the election of A. P. Butler, his leading opponent, would leave a vacancy on the bench, which Davie, who had 26 votes, desired to fill. And William F. DeSaussure wanted to be chancellor. At any rate, after the second ballot, Davie withdrew and his 26 votes went to A. P. Butler, electing him. Hammond was told and believed that Davie's friends had gone to Butler on a promise that Butler's friends would vote for DeSaussure for Chancellor, and in the hope that Davie would get Butler's vacant seat.[16]

Hammond kept himself well informed upon affairs in Congress. He read with interest the speeches of Calhoun and the resolutions introduced by him, February 19, 1847, declaring that Congress had no right to pass a law which would prevent any citizen from going with his property into any territory belonging to the United States.[17] He concurred heartily in them and in the Virginia resolutions

[14] Hammond to Major [M. C. M. Hammond], December 4, 1846.
[15] Hammond had feared this might happen. Diary, July 2, 1845.
[16] Diary, December 9, 1846; J. L. Clark to Hammond, December 22, 1846; A. P. Aldrich to Hammond, December 18, 1846. The events, upon which serious charges could indeed be based, had occurred not later than 1843. Hampton had "slumbered on his wrongs" for three years.
[17] Calhoun, Works, vol. iv, pp. 348–349; Cong. 29 Cong., 2 sess., 455.

of the same general tenor.[18] At the same time he refused to bestir himself about them. Yet he was not without ambitions. Beverley Tucker of Virginia began now to write, anointing Hammond as Calhoun's successor as leader of the State Rights party. Hammond was glad to find the idea existing outside the State. "If I had the physical powers, I would not hesitate to do all in my power to prepare myself. And I own I should esteem the one [position] suggested as the highest post in America."[19] Within the State, too, the desire for Hammond's leadership was gaining.[20]

The presidential election of 1848 attracted Hammond's attention more than any other had ever done. Very early he had decided that of all the probable candidates, Taylor appealed to him most,[21] especially after Cass's Nicholson letter approving the doctrine of squatter sovereignty.[22] To Hammond as to most other Carolinians the doctrine of squatter sovereignty was as abhorrent as the doctrine that Congress had any power whatever over slavery in the territories.[23] Of the Charleston feeling for Taylor he knew, and of the part Calhoun played in keeping it quiet.[24] He knew, too, and disapproved, of the hope of some that Calhoun himself might be able to run as a third to Cass and Taylor.[25] The

[18] Hammond to Major [M. C. M. Hammond], February 26, 1847; B. Tucker to Hammond, March 13, 1847. Tucker tells Hammond that the Virginia resolutions were his work "indirectly. They were prepared by a young pupil of mine who was not a member and who told me of them as a son would tell a father that he had not shown himself unworthy."

[19] Diary, February 21, 1847; B. Tucker to Hammond, February 6, 1847.

[20] Simms to Hammond, March 2, [1847]; Diary, April 4, 1847.

[21] Hammond to Simms, April 19, 1847.

[22] Niles Register, vol. lxxiii, p. 293.

[23] The territories will decide the question of slavery as soon as they have become states. But who is to restrain them? Congress. Then it has power over Slavery in the Territories. A doctrine as false as dangerous. . . . It is a fundamental principle not only of republican but of all sound political writers that a majority of the people may establish their own government & make their own laws. We are not to overturn the principle for the sake of slavery" (Hammond to Simms, June 20, 1848).

[24] H. W. Conner to Calhoun, December 8, 1847, Calhoun Corr., p. 1147.

[25] Hammond to Simms, June 20, 1848.

Charleston movement to aid the election of Taylor, regardless of the party by which he was nominated, came to a head in a meeting on July 20 of Taylor Democrats. At Calhoun's advice,[26] the State had taken no part in the Democratic convention, consequently the members of the party felt no obligation to support the nominee. The meeting expressed approval of the nomination of Taylor made irrespective of parties.

Hammond was at first satisfied with this movement and willing to cooperate with it, on the ground that the South must depend on itself and not longer be bound by party ties.[27] He was asked to preside at a Taylor meeting in Charleston and in general to take the lead in the Taylor movement but he refused to do so.[28] He did not like Taylor's "damned rascally set of friends out of So. Ca."[29] The neutrality of Calhoun helped Cass greatly, for Taylor, seeing that the North was offended and that Southern Democrats would not help him, declared himself a decided Whig. At this Hammond was vastly disappointed. He wrote letters in every direction, saying that while he did not intend to repudiate Taylor, had he known this three months ago he would not have been a Taylor man.[30] Yet he would not take this stand publicly. As time went on, he grew more and more lukewarm toward Taylor, and after the elections to

[26] H. W. Conner to Calhoun, April 13, 1848, Calhoun Corr., pp. 1166–1167.

[27] This self-dependent isolation does not mean, what at first sight it seems to, that Hammond was showing an inconsistency with his disapproval of a Southern pro-slavery party. He did not mean that the South should have a distinct party, to run its own candidates, but only that it must look with clearer eyes at its own interests, and choose, irrespective of party, that candidate most likely to support it.

[28] M. I. Keith and A. G. Magrath to Hammond, August 10, 1848. So desirous were they to have Hammond's aid that though they wanted to have the meeting "next week just before the Cass meeting," they would postpone it if the time did not suit him.

[29] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, August 13, 1848; to Simms, August 13, 1848.

[30] Hammond to A. B. Holt and the Com., October 10, 1848, Draft; to M. C. M. Hammond, September 15, 18, 1848; to James Gadsden, September 21, 1848, Draft; to Simms, September 22, 1848.

the state legislature he thought it would disgrace the State forever to vote for Taylor.[31]

Hammond was deeply despondent. His health was bad, perhaps almost as bad as he thought it was. And though Simms tried his hardest to convince him that he had not been shelved, he refused to be comforted. He was deeply saddened by the death in October of his second son, Christopher. "It is a heavy blow," he said, "& threw a dead weight on the already overburdened springs of life."[32]

Most of Hammond's energy was devoted during 1848 to a war against the Bank. His Anti-Debt letters of the year before had been at least in part responsible for the defeat of the project to charter a railroad, and had thus made him a leader in the anti-Bank group. The Bank, looking ahead to the expiration of its charter, was already working for a recharter and the pamphlets of Anti-Debt were spread among the legislators to defeat it. The anti-Bank party gained strength,[33] and both it and the Bank wrote many letters. Largely through Hammond's efforts the Columbia South Carolinian was bought as an anti-Bank paper, and Hammond wrote for it a series of anonymous editorials.[34] There was work for the anti-Bank men at the session of the legislature. Hammond was not in the legislature, and did not come to Columbia. C. G. Memminger of Charleston was, he thought, the only man who really understood the question. Accordingly, he induced Memminger to take the lead against the Bank. There was a severe struggle. The friends of the Bank were numerous and active, and it was only with much difficulty that a resolution was got through declaring that the legislature did not intend to recharter. Even that, as Hammond said, could be repealed when the time for recharter came.[35]

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[31] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, November 15, 1848.
[32] Diary, March 11, 1849.
[33] J. P. Carroll to Hammond, May 8, 1848.
[34] Hammond to Simms, July 8, 26, 1848; Simms to Hammond, July 20, 1848; L. M. Ayer, Jr. to Hammond, December 3, 24, 1848; Diary, March 11, 1849.
[35] Diary, March 11, 1849; Hammond Papers, November–Decem-

On November 20, 1849, before the South Carolina Institute in Charleston, Hammond delivered an address which he with much justice regarded as one of the best things he ever did. The Institute, with William Gregg, Ker Boyce, Gilmore Simms and William A. Owens among the leaders, and Hammond one of the life members, had been formed early in 1849 to encourage the growth of Carolina manufactures and especially to spread information on the possibilities they afforded. Gregg in particular had been working at least since 1845 to change Carolina's habits of industrial thought.[36] Probably in connection with his work before the legislature, he met Hammond, and the two became friends at once. Both thought that the Bank directors individually and collectively hampered Gregg's cotton mill at every possible turn. Gregg felt that Hammond was the logical man to deliver an oration on the manufacturing interests of the State.

Hammond began the oration by showing that cotton, to the culture of which South Carolina had for sixty years chiefly devoted herself, had reached a point at which its value was regulated, not by supply and demand, but by the cost of production, and that the cost of production in South Carolina was too high to make its cultivation pay.[37] At an income of two per cent, South Carolina was being impoverished and depopulated. "For the last twenty years floating capital to the amount of five hundred thousand dollars per annum and slaves to the number of 83,000 had been taken by their masters to richer distant lands." Nothing much was to be expected from improved agricultural methods.

Presumably most of the available capital and enterprise would for some time to come be absorbed in cotton manu-

ber, 1848; Mercury, November–December, 1848; Courier, November–December, 1848.

[36] Letters by Gregg appear in the Courier beginning January 28, 1845; in the Columbia Southern Chronicle, July 23, 1845; the Charleston Evening News, October 16, December 13, 16, 19, 1847, March 6, 11, 31, 1846; Mercury, April 8, 1848, ff.

[37] Land which enables the planter to produce 2000 pounds per full hand, returns seven per cent and such land is abundant in the South and Southwest. But in South Carolina the land yields an average of only 1200 pounds per full hand and a return of only two or three per cent.

facturing, so superior were South Carolina's advantages in that line. Already the South more than supplied herself with coarse cotton cloths. Cotton manufacturing "has hitherto afforded, and still affords, the largest returns on its investments, of any other permanent industrial pursuit the world has ever known," and from experiments made, it was confidently expected that a proper development of Southern resources would lead to profits so great as to attract abundant skill and capital.

With the English, the North could not compete in the open markets of the world, but the South probably could. According to Montgomery,[38] the cost of a factory in the United States was $60,000 more than in England for buildings and machinery, yet because an American factory made 16,000 yards more in a fortnight than the English one, and because the American one had so much less expense for transportation, the final cost of manufacturing was in favor of the United States. And a Southern factory would save almost all the transportation charges. Wherever men can live cheapest and work longest, there the cost of labor will be least. The laborer in the South did not need as much clothing or food or fuel or lodging as his Northern or English fellow.[39]

Had South Carolina manufactured all her own 1846 crop, she would, at the British rate, have been $24,000,000 richer, according to Hammond. And she had the resources to manufacture so great a crop. $40,000,000 judiciously invested would accomplish it, and South Carolina had in the last

[38] Montgomery, Cotton Manufacturing in Great Britain and the United States, Glasgow, 1840.

[39]

13 bushels of corn	= $6.00
160 pounds of bacon	= $9.00
coffee and sugar	= $4.00
Total	= $19.00

So that $19.00 was the cost of a full supply of wholesome, palatable food. The garden and chickens which each slave family had, cost nothing. And according to the Edinburgh Review in 1842, the English workman spent more than that for bread only, and for less bread.

twenty years lost over twice that sum for want of profitable investment for it. Slaves could undoubtedly be trained for operatives, but it would not be wise or necessary to use them. There were about 50,000 non-self-supporting whites in South Carolina from whom the necessary 35,000 operatives could be drawn as rapidly as necessary. "We have coal and iron. We have, besides, immense forests and noble streams without number. We have capital and labor, and the raw material is peculiarly ours. It only remains for us to prove to the world that we have the courage to claim our own." [40]

Much that Hammond said now he had believed, and urged too, in his address before the State Agricultural Society in 1841. He had said then as now that cotton production in South Carolina did not pay and could not be made to pay, and that cotton manufacturing as indubitably would pay. On one point only had his opinion changed seriously. In 1841 he had urged the possibility and advisability of using slave labor in the mills. Now he believed white labor safer and better. The Institute address was, to use Hammond's own report, "highly applauded on all sides." [41] He "received a public dinner from the Board of the Institute & another from the Chamber of Commerce. The latter was spontaneous and the first dinner the Chamber ever gave to any one." [42]

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[40] Yet he wrote to Quattlebum in the summer while he was working on this oration that he had "no idea of placing the manufacturing above the agricultural interest either politically or socially & in view of their introduction regret[ted] that suffrage was not restricted to landowners. At all events they should use native operatives. . . . This is going to be the great question in So Ca and you should study it" (Hammond to Paul Quattlebum, July 9, 1849, not in the Library of Congress).

[41] Diary, December 15, 1849.

[42] Ibid., December 15, 1849. Of the College societies' oration some two weeks later, the orator thought that it was "the best thing I ever did. The encomiums passed on it by those capable of judging were perfectly satisfactory & the multitude were not backward in echoing them." For a whimsically egotistical view of these two pieces, see Hammond to Simms, December 20, 1849. The Institute address of which account has just been given was abundantly published in pamphlet form. It was also included by DeBow in his Industrial Resources, vol. iii, p. 24 ff.

CHAPTER V

The Vigorous Movement for Southern Nationality

The "Dutch man-of-war which brought us twenty neegars" began the process of Southern nationalization in 1619, although for two centuries it went on unaided and almost unseen even by those upon whom it was working. Of course men understood—some men at least—that slave labor and free labor were incompatible, but in those early days a political remedy was rarely sought. No one thought then of the possibility of two nations arising. It was one, or thirteen or fifteen, whatever happened to be the number of colonies or States. And the War of 1812 and the Louisiana Purchase, equally with the extension or the restriction or the extinction of slavery, were subjects which divided the country. Even the Missouri Compromise did not demand the extinction of slavery, but was a contest of two opposing forces for a common prize, not a life and death struggle between antagonists.

With the Compromise of 1820, the South became acutely conscious of herself as a unit, a whole, a nation and not a region in another union. From then on, the Southern States came to see that their real unity of interest was with each other and not with the North. And they chose the remedy readiest to their hand. They did not need the Northern States, and they clung to, and developed a theory, States' Rights, which enabled them to go on. It was a weapon, not a citadel, which they sought and found in state sovereignty. From 1820 on, then, the South felt herself to be a whole, felt certainly that she was coming to be a nation. Even at the time of nullification, there is room to believe that some of the co-States would have come to Carolina's aid if the Union had used force against her.

Hammond's consciousness that there were in 1836 two nations in the Union, and his clear explanation of their origin and course of the division, have already been mentioned. He believed that the imperative duty of every true Southerner was to awaken the jealous, warring Southern factions to a consciousness of their duty and their future. "We must unite the South," he said, "Every head, every heart, every hand must be devoted to that purpose. The impatient [Rhett and Yancey] must be restrained; the timid and the wavering must be encouraged; the laggard must be whipped in and the deserter shot." [1]

Anything which worked toward Southern unity Hammond approved. One of his favorite projects was direct trade with Europe, for that would weaken Southern dependence upon the North and Southern attachment to it. At least by 1837 and possibly earlier, direct trade meetings, important enough to be called conventions, were held in the lower South. One of these was held in Augusta, Georgia, in mid-October, 1837, under Calhoun's direct patronage and favor.[2] McDuffie was present and was chairman of the committee on resolutions. The convention favored establishing a system of direct importations from Europe and throwing off "degrading shackles of our commercial dependence." [3] In 1838 meetings were held in April and in October.[4]

In 1839 a four-day convention was held in Charleston, in April. Tennessee, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida sent delegates, to the number of more than two hundred. South Carolina was especially well represented with Memminger and Preston, Ker Boyce and Hamilton, Wade Hampton and F. H. Elmore in her delegation. Hayne was especially prominent. McDuffie who had been so active in work for direct trade was not there, but was in England at work for his object, finding prices for staples

[1] Hammond to B. Tucker, March 11, 1836.
[2] J. C. Calhoun to J. E. Calhoun, September 7, 1837, Corr., p. 377.
[3] Courier, October 24, 1837; Mercury, October 26, 1837.
[4] Mercury, April 5, 6; October 19, 1838.

which the planters needed and trying to start from that end a direct trade between South Carolina and Great Britain.[5] Hammond was at the convention, working vigorously for McDuffie's ideas which were his ideas, too. Ten years later, Hammond finally induced the legislature to subsidize a steamship line to run to Liverpool and Havre.[6]

It is obvious that these trade conventions had political significance; with some of their promoters they had even a political intent. Even Calhoun, who died in 1850 with dark forebodings about the fate of the Union, thought early in 1837 that "nothing could be worse than the state of things here" and believed that "something must be done and in my opinion that something is a Southern Convention." "I write not, you know, for the press."[7] Hammond thought by 1835 that "disunion is inevitable."[8] From that time on a Southern convention was a favorite measure with both Calhoun and Hammond. From the early forties this demand increased throughout the South. In 1844 there was much talk of it in connection with the Texas annexation question, especially in South Carolina. With the appearance of the the Wilmot proviso in 1846 the desire for a convention revived and widened and grew more definite.

In 1847 Calhoun favored the formation of a Southern party to defend slavery.[9] From this proposal Hammond dissented "in toto," for he saw it would lead to the formation of a Northern anti-slavery party.[10] He opposed also the establishment of a pro-slavery paper in Washington, for he thought it would be only a Calhoun organ, and he was sure it would do more harm than good. "They cannot

[5] George McDuffie to Hammond, March 31, 1839.

[6] Hammond to H. W. Conner, July 17, 1850, Draft; Hammond to Simms, July 25, 1850; A. H. Brisbane to Hammond, February 25, 1851; S. W. Trotti to Hammond, December 11, 1839.

[7] Calhoun to James Edward Calhoun, December 20, 1837, Calhoun Corr.; Calhoun to J. R. Mathews, February 12, 1837, Calhoun MSS., Library of Congress.

[8] Hammond to I. W. Hayne, September 1, [1835], Draft.

[9] Calhoun, Works, vol. iv, pp. 382–396; Calhoun Corr., pp. 718–720; Mercury, March 10, 23, 1847.

[10] Hammond to Simms, March 26, April 1, 19, 1847.

get the man or adopt the tone that will unite all the slaveholders . . . because when it comes to be tried it will be found that Kentucky &c. do not take the same views of the question that So Ca &c. do. An attempt to establish a common ground for discussion will develop the diversity in our sentiments & I fear greatly weaken our cause."[11] And the one thing Hammond desired before all else was an undivided South.

Throughout the State during 1847 the demand for a convention of the section continued to grow. The Mercury approved specifically.[12] Calhoun urged it.[13] Meetings demanded it.[14] Most of them were vague on specific measures to be acted on by the convention, but some cooperation was desired by all. Hammond took no part in this agitation, for it seemed to him only a dream at this time, and he did not think Calhoun unselfish or sincere in urging it.[15] A year later the idea seemed less hopeless,[16] although Barnwell Rhett did not favor it. In 1848 as in 1844, Rhett was ready for action, but did not think a convention would get any action, and the Mercury agreed with him.[17] When the legislature met, Governor Johnson favored the plan,[18] and it was unanimously resolved that South Carolina was prepared to cooperate in resisting the Wilmot proviso "at any and every hazard."[19]

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[11] Hammond to I. W. Hayne, June 4, 1847; I. W. Hayne to Soule, August 25, 1847; Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, September 5, 1847, to Simms, November 1, 1847.

[12] Mercury, August 9, 1847.

[13] Calhoun to [Joseph Lesesne], in Benton, Thirty Years, vol. ii, pp. 698–700.

[14] Mercury, October 11, 1847.

[15] Diary, March, 1847.

[16] Mercury, September 12, 1848, quoting from Abbeville Banner. St. Peter's wanted a convention (ibid., September 20, 1848). Fairfield authorized her representative to leave Congress if the Wilmot proviso passed, and directed the appointment of a committee of correspondence (ibid., November 16, October 13, November 21, 1848).

[17] Speech by Rhett in Charleston, September 23, 1848, in Mercury, September 29, 1848.

[18] South Carolina Senate Journals, 1848, pp. 26–28.

[19] South Carolina Reports and Resolutions, 1848, p. 147. Not yet did the word disunion come readily to the legislative tongue. Other States, Virginia, Florida, North Carolina, Missouri, all were willing

The attempt to unite all the Southern members of Congress in an address to the people of the South proved discouraging to conventionites, although it exactly bore out Hammond's objection to a pro-slavery newspaper. As the result of an attempt to prohibit slavery in the District of Columbia a meeting of the Southern delegation in Washington chose Calhoun to draw up an address. When this was presented Whigs and Democrats divided along party lines instead of uniting to defend the South,[20] and the Whigs under Toombs were able to alter and soften Calhoun's language, though they failed to prevent the adoption of any address. Of the forty-eight signers, about two-fifths of the Southern delegates, only two were Whigs. The Address discussed, very ably, the abolition crusade, the Northern violations of the Constitution, the offensive recently begun in Congress and the probability of its success unless the South itself united in opposition.[21]

This document failed to unite the Southern delegation but it succeeded in arousing a degree of attention from the people of the South. By the end of February, Charleston responded.[22] In a month or two Barnwell, Beaufort, Williamsburg, Colleton, Camden, Sumter, Lexington, Abbeville, York, Union, Spartanburg, Laurens and Marlborough approved, and meetings of endorsement were held in other Southern states, outside of South Carolina.[23] Hammond, although he was so entirely out of touch with public sentiment, felt that it would do great good in arousing the Southern people to the nearness of the crisis.[24]

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to cooperate, but they were hazy on the proper form of cooperation. Laws of Virginia, 1848–1849, p. 257; 30th Cong., 2nd sess., Sen. Misc. Doc., 58; 30th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Misc. Doc., 54; Laws of North Carolina, 1848–1849, Resolutions, 237–239; 31st Cong., 1st sess., Sen. Misc. Doc., 24.

[20] Robert Toombs to John J. Crittenden, January 3, 1849, in Toombs Stephens Cobb Corr., pp. 139–142.

[21] Calhoun, Works, vol. vi, pp. 285–313; Benton, Thirty Years' View, vol. ii, p. 733 ff.; Polk, Diary, vol. ii, pp. 285–286; Washington Union, January 16, 24, 28, 1849; Charleston Mercury, January 31, 1849.

[22] Mercury, February 28, 1849.

[23] Ibid., March 26, 1849.

[24] Hammond to Calhoun, February 19, 1849.

In almost every case, the South Carolina meetings called in response to the Southern Address had ended in the appointment of committees of safety and correspondence. By May, 1849, there was a central committee of safety, and twenty-nine districts and parishes sent representatives to a meeting in Columbia. Calhoun advised that this Columbia meeting try to pave the way for a Southern convention,[25] but the resolutions adopted were far milder than that. They were more moderate than the district meetings and the newspapers, and beyond a doubt they represented the hearty convictions of the leaders of the State. South Carolina was ready to act with other Southern Sates, and to that end there should be elected a Central State Committee of Vigilance and Safety.[26]

At the suggestion of the committee the Governor wrote to other Southern governors, asking how much cooperation South Carolina could expect from them. Although apparently but one reply was received,[27] it was decided to send Daniel Wallace to represent the State, confidentially, at the Mississippi convention in October.[28] Wallace was amazed to find in Mississippi very intense and active prejudice against South Carolina,[29] but thought that when the time came Mississippi would act correctly. Nor was he disappointed.

After passing good Southern resolutions on interfering with slavery, the Mississippi convention called a convention of all slave-holding States for Nashville in June, 1850. Cal-

[25] Calhoun to Means, April 13, 1849.

[26] Those elected were F. H. Elmore, James Gadsden, Wade Hampton, D. J. McCord, and F. W. Pickens; Mercury, May 15–17, 1849.

[27] W. B. Seabrook Papers; Elmore to Seabrook, May 30, 1849; Moseley, Florida, to Seabrook, May 18, 1849.

[28] Mississippi and South Carolina were only States whose delegation in Congress had signed the Southern Address unanimously. After some months of agitation and a partial preliminary convention in May, a convention of all the States was called for October. Calhoun, in a letter to C. S. Tarpley, July 9, 1849, urged that this convention act towards a general Southern convention. Only by such a convention could both the Union and the South be saved. The Tarpley letter is in the Cong. Globe, 32nd Cong., 1st sess., app. 52.

[29] Seabrook Papers, Wallace to Seabrook, November 7, 1849.

houn was of course eager for such a general meeting, and Hammond had long desired it also,[30] but he saw, what Wallace had found out, that to agitate it in South Carolina would be injurious to its chance of success. For this reason South Carolina would have preferred to have her endorsement of the call which the Mississippi convention issued come after other States had acted, but that was impossible. The legislative session of 1850 would be too late, and the session of 1849 began almost immediately after the end of the Mississippi convention. Governor Seabrook indorsed the Mississippi call,[31] and a caucus of the entire legislature expressed confidence that South Carolina would support any measures the convention might adopt. A few days later the caucus elected the four delegates-at-large, Cheves, Elmore, Barnwell and Hammond. Further than this it did not go. It did not even express an opinion on what the convention ought to do.[32]

"This [Nashville] Convention," said Hammond, "may turn out nothing or may be the greatest event since 1790."[33] There was much reason for his pessimism. The first session of the thirty-first Congress began on December 3, 1849, and it opened badly for the South. The three weeks of struggle over the speakership ended in the election of the rather unsatisfactory Howell Cobb by grace of the Free-Soilers. Some months before the new congress opened, it was known in South Carolina[34] that California was forming a State government which was almost certain to forbid slavery, and that this was being done under Federal guidance. Next came Clay's compromise resolutions of January 29, 1850, with Calhoun's and Webster's speeches. There was prospect of a truce of some duration. Hammond was dis-

[30] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, November 16, 1849. "Have a letter from Calhoun urging me to move in favor of a Southern Convention. . . . I have replied that it is my favorite measure."

[31] Message to the Governor, November 27, 1849; South Carolina Senate Journals, 1849, pp. 10–28.

[32] Mercury, November 29, December 1, 10, 13, 1849.

[33] Diary, December 15, 1849.

[34] Mercury, August 1, 1849.

couraged. He had started the Georgia Constitutionalist and the Republic in an agitation for a convention to send delegates to Nashville, and he had had "great hopes that an impassable breach would be made before all was over,"[35] but by early spring he doubted it, and thought that if there was a truce, the Nashville Convention would degenerate into a presidential caucus.[36] A little later, he was even less hopeful, and said that he was going only because it might do something, though he doubted it would do much. The Clay compromise had lowered Southern tone so much that a convention could do nothing decided.[37]

When the convention met at Nashville, June 3, 1850, delegates from nine of the slave-holding States were present. By June third, Calhoun who had done so much to bring the convention to pass was dead. Resolutions which he had drawn up very shortly before his death asserted the entire unconstitutionality of the California constitution, and the opposition of the South to the Wilmot proviso, and declared that the time had come "to settle fully and forever all the questions at issue."[38] These resolutions were sent at his direction to Hammond,[39] were taken by him to the convention, but there is nothing to show that they were used.

In June, 1850, Congress was still engaged with the various measures of the Clay compromise, a fact which influenced the work of the convention as much as Hammond feared it might. Hammond was "on all the committees and worked hard." He carried through the resolutions committee the address prepared by Barnwell Rhett, and "demolished" Judge Sharkey, the president, in a speech upon it.[40] In its final action the convention condemned the pending compromise; refused to discuss measures of

[35] Diary, March 17, 1850.
[36] Hammond to Simms, March 26, 1850.
[37] Diary, April–May, 1850. The exact date of the entry is uncertain.
[38] Calhoun Correspondence, p. 787.
[39] Joseph A. Scoville to Hammond, April 18, 1850.
[40] Diary, August 10, 1850.

resistance to measures not yet adopted; and offered as an extreme compromise the extension of the line 36° 30′ to the Pacific.[41] Of the work accomplished in Nashville Hammond had no high opinion. Before he returned home he wrote back that the results "do not amount to much," that he found it impossible to suggest for use at this time remedies requiring separate State action, and that for that reason he had kept still, since he "did not care to discuss what I had no faith in, though compelled to support it."[42] "The great point," he added, "is that the South *has met,* has acted with great harmony in a nine days meeting,—& above all has agreed to meet again. . . . My great point was another meeting."

Calhoun has been charged by those who do not know and by those who ought to know, with plotting, certainly with desiring, to dissolve the Union. The charge is exploded now, and was always unjust. Calhoun loved the Union. But he loved the South still more. "In considering it [a Southern convention], I assume that the first desire of every true-hearted Southern man is, to save, if possible, the Union, as well as ourselves; but if both cannot be, then to save ourselves at all events."[43] In nothing does Hammond show his independence of Calhoun more than in his attitude to the Union. At no time through his life does he feel or profess any attachment to it. At different times he said that he had long been a disunionist. "I have for near or quite twenty years been in favor of disunion," he said to himself on returning from Nashville.[44] The value of the Union, he told Calhoun in 1849, was hourly being calculated in every corner of the South and the conviction was growing that it was a burden of which they were better rid. "I have thought this myself for twenty years."[45] "From the commencement of my legally

[41] Mercury, June 12, 13, 15, 20, 1850.
[42] Hammond to Simms, June 16, 1850.
[43] Calhoun to Foote, August 3, 1849, in the Mercury, June 4, 1851.
[44] Diary, August 10, 1850.
[45] Hammond to Calhoun, February 19, 1849.

political life I have worked faithfully for the dissolution of the Union often with all against me but Rhett."[46]

These words are retrospective, but from time to time Hammond expressed views which can be recognized as similar. "It has come to this in our opinion that we of the South are to have no more freedom than we can maintain at the point of the sword & we are determined to be always prepared for that issue whenever it is necessary to make it."[47]

In 1844, Hammond thought a government crisis near. The North was determined to tax the South for its own benefit, and to uproot "our peculiar domestic institutions. A peaceful separation is now my only hope."[48] Just before the session of the legislature in which he recommended in vain separate State action, Governor Hammond was still more certain of speedy disunion. "A seperation of the States at no remote period is inevitable. It might now be affected peacefully and properly. A few years hence it must take place in blood or the South remain in it as a subjugated region."[49]

Hammond was working for disunion long before he was ready to advocate it openly. The contemporary expressions so far quoted are all to men with whom he was at the time rather intimate. "I want to know how far the interests of the Review[50] will permit me to put the question of North & South in its *true colors*. Of course it will not do to advocate *disunion*—but I propose in a quiet way

[46] Hammond to L. M. Keitt, [November 11,] 1862, Draft.

[47] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, March 27, 1833; Hammond to John H. Pleasants, January 27, 1833, Draft; Hammond to I. W. Hayne, September 1, 1835, Draft. Or could anything more calmly assume disunion as inevitable and certain, than this letter written from Rome? Congress, said Hammond to Waddy Thompson, ought to buy all the good statuary which any member proposes. "They will be there," he went on, "& somebody must get them in the general breaking up" (Hammond to Waddy Thompson, December 18, 1836).

[48] Diary, August 7, 1844.

[49] Ibid., November 24, 1844.

[50] The Southern Quarterly Review with which Simms had just associated himself.

to show the [that] we have nothing to fear from it—that our wealth & strength are sufficient to enable us to take & maintain a stand among the nations."[51] Always it was the South, not South Carolina alone, which Hammond thought of as seceding. Even when in 1844 he recommended early and decisive State action, that action was not to be separate State secession.[52]

It was this phase of disunion that Hammond had in mind when he spoke of the work of the Nashville convention. The South Carolina delegation had laid the foundation for great influence for their State among the Southern States, but immediately after it adjourned, Rhett at a meeting in Charleston "openly hoisted the Banner of Disunion—He a Delegate & known to be the author of the Address. He has been of course denounced throughout the Union and So Ca along with him. Clay and Foote in the U. S. Senate denounced him as a traitor." Hammond did not disagree with Rhett's sentiments, as he told Simms,[53] but he thought it most unwise to utter them now. In his Diary, he wrote:

> Rhett's speech has given everyone a handle to abuse So Ca & to endeavor to hold her up as the leader of the Southern movement & its aim as disunion. For this the South is not yet fully prepared & many may be alarmed & kept out of it by this course. Nothing could have been more injudicious than Rhett's speech. . . . It was criminal.[54]

And again:

> I should be [for secession] if I thought it judicious as I have for near or quite twenty years been in favor of disunion & believed it inevitable. . . . I have not yet appeared in print as an avowed secessionist. . . . I think I can do more good at present by appearing to be cautious, & in fact being so.[55]

Calhoun spoke his vicarious valedictory in the Senate on March 4. Almost exactly four weeks later he lay dead in the back parlor of Hill's "mess" in Washington, and South

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[51] Hammond to Simms, March 23, 1849.
[52] Diary, November 28, 1844.
[53] Hammond to Simms, June 27, 1850.
[54] Diary, August 10, 1850.
[55] Ibid., date not given but from internal evidence, between November 21, and December 14, 1850.

Carolina was in mourning. "Mr. Calhoun is dead," said Hammond. "I feel his death even more sensibly than I expected. . . . He was a wall of granite in resisting & the good he had done in preventing evil is incalculable. But after all evil has become intolerable & the jealousy of him—his towering genius & uncompromising temper has had much effect in preventing the South from *uniting* to resist it." [56]

Within a week of Calhoun's death, the City Council of Charleston had appointed Hammond to give the memorial oration for him.[57] Hammond accepted, but hardly had he done so when Governor Seabrook appointed R. B. Rhett to a similar duty for the legislature. Hammond was disgusted to find that he had thus been thrown unwillingly into this contest for the crown. He threatened to withdraw, but so great was the protest from his friends that he went ahead.[58] The address was delivered in Charleston to an applauding audience on November 21, 1850, and the orator was given a dinner by the City Council.

Hammond's Calhoun was, from the intellectual and literary point, quite the best thing he had done and probably the best he ever did. It did not arouse the enthusiasm created by the Clarkson letters or by the "Cotton is King" speech, but their immense popularity was due in part, and in large part, to this fact, that they had an influence for action upon his large community, an effect quite foreign to an oration on their departed leader. He was speaking less than a year after Calhoun's death and while his memory was still warm in Carolina's heart, yet the speech was more than a good word. He praised his course in the House of Representatives, yet he said also that many of his views at this time were essentially wrong, and many of his opinions there had contributed

[56] Ibid., April 7, 1850.

[57] J. C. Norris, Clerk of the Council, to Hammond, April 5, 1850; T. L. Hutchinson, Mayor, to Hammond, April 6, 1850.

[58] Hammond to Simms, April 26, 1850; H. W. Conner to Hammond, April 29, 1850; Hammond to Simms, August 20, 1850.

powerfully to the injury of the South. For Calhoun's course in opposing the tariff of 1828, Hammond had most eloquent praise. It was then, said he, that Calhoun surrendered his prospects for the presidency, surrendered them for the Constitution and the cause of justice.

As to the senator's speech on the Force Bill, Hammond had a touch of insight approaching inspiration. "And if," said he, "logic, building on undoubted facts can demonstrate any moral proposition, then Mr. Calhoun made as clear as mathematical solution, his theory of our Government."[59] Did Hammond think that he had said something as self-evident as the sum of two and two? Or did he see that he had there approached at least to a solution of the whole trouble; did he see that men cannot be made to obey the rules of logic when working on what they feel to be a moral question, that Calhoun's argument, logical, brilliant, unanswerable though it was, was as powerless and incomplete as the old and now abandoned "economic man"?

If Hammond did not hesitate to mention and even to emphasize Calhoun's errors of judgment, neither did he hesitate to say when he thought his abilities too highly praised.

> The colloquial powers of Mr. Calhoun have been highly lauded. In this there is a mistake. Strictly speaking he had no uncommon endowment of this sort. It is true that he entered readily and easily into any conversation. . . . But he exhibited no sparkling wit, no keen retort, none of that liveliness of fancy which so delightfully season and refine familiar conversation. Nor was he anything of a *raconteur*. All these things he occasionally enjoyed with much zest, but rarely attempted them himself.[60]

Calhoun's theory of government was forecast with no little accuracy, though the material at hand was not abundant. There was the "Life" printed in 1843, and probably copies of most or all of his speeches, and Hammond had at various times had a few, a very few, conversations with Calhoun. Slender sources, a modern historian would think,

[59] Hammond, Letters and Speeches, p. 260.
[60] Ibid., pp. 293–294.

for a just estimate of such a man. Yet even a modern historian would admit that the estimate is just, that, as Hammond said, "If the Oration should be read twenty years hence it will be supposed it was written after the book." [61]

Calhoun's death left a vancacy in the Senate to which the Governor had the power of temporary appointment. The three most prominent men in the State were R. B. Rhett, F. H. Elmore and Hammond. Charleston public opinion favored Hammond and there was room to believe that he was Calhoun's own choice.[62] But Governor Seabrook, "like an ass as he is," desired to go to the Senate and he would appoint no one likely to be stronger with the legislature than he. Had he been able, he would have appointed a man weaker than any of the three. Appoint Hammond, the strongest of the three, he would not. He gave the Senate place to Elmore, and in order still further to weaken the force of Hammond's oration, he appointed Rhett to deliver the eulogy on Calhoun before the legislature.[63] When the legislature met Elmore had died and Hammond and Rhett were the only real candidates. Rhett was elected on the fourth ballot over Hammond, who lost none of his votes.[64]

Hammond said to himself before the election that it was a test; that he would not withdraw and would therefore feel forever beaten if he failed of election.[65] His friends all agreed that he was defeated because he had not returned to the irregular November session of the Nash-

[61] Diary, October 1, [1851]; Calhoun, Works, vol. i.

[62] Simms to Hammond, April 2, 4, [1850]; H. W. Conner to Hammond, April 3, 1850; Joseph A. Scoville to Hammond, April 18, 1850.

[63] Diary, April 7, 1850; Simms to Hammond, April 2, 4, 10, 1850; H. W. Conner to Hammond, April 3, 4, 6, 9, 1850; James M. Walker to Hammond, April 13, 1850; Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, April 16, 1850; Wm. H. Gist to Hammond, April 20, 1850; I. W. Hayne to Hammond, May 3, 1850.

[64] L. M. Ayer, Jr. to Hammond, December 18, 1850.

[65] Diary, December 15, 1850; Hammond to Simms, December 10, 1850.

ville convention.[66] He had returned from Nashville saying that the only good thing about it was that the South had met and had agreed to meet again, but since then he had come more and more to believe that the true crisis was not at hand, that although South Carolina was ready to secede no other State would follow her. So believing, he felt that the convention would be useless, if it did not actually harm the cause of a Southern Confederacy.

Even with so powerful an argument as Hammond's supposed indifference, there was much campaigning needed to elect Rhett over him. The Rhett faction disagreed on sight with the prevalent opinion that at Calhoun's death Hammond was the first man in the State, and they would use any grist that came to their mill in an effort to supplant him. It was still possible to utilize the unsatisfied curiosity about the Hampton quarrel. The situation between Hammond and the Bank was equally unfriendly. Most of all, Hammond would not and did not electioneer, and Rhett very decidedly would and did.[67] And Hammond did not return to Nashville.[68]

Despite the paralyzing effect of the Compromise of 1850 on the Nashville convention and on the South in general, the announcement of its terms in South Carolina had given rise to much disunion talk. By sale day in October there was a Southern Rights Association in almost every district

[66] It was irregular in that, although the June session had resolved to meet again, it met now in November without any call by its president, who alone could regularly bid it reassemble. Paul Quattlebum to Hammond, December 17, 1850; A. P. Aldrich to Hammond, October 10, 1850, January 3, 1851; I. W. Hayne to Hammond, October 15, 1850; M. L. Bonham to Hammond, November 3, 1850; Maxcy Gregg to Hammond, November 4, 1850.

[67] Paul Quattlebum to Hammond, January 28, 1851; John Russell to Hammond, January 9, February 10, 1851.

[68] Hammond was much embittered by his defeat, more even than he usually was, and he resisted all efforts to cheer him up. Hammond to Simms, December 23, 1850, February 4, March 20, 1851; Diary, December 21, 1850; James M. Walker to Hammond, December, 1850; [B. Tucker] to Hammond, January 2, February 4, 1851; A. P. Aldrich to Hammond, January 7, 1851; Simms to Hammond, January 30, [1851].

01 the State.[69] The Fairfield Herald made up a long list of reasons why it favored disunion and other papers approved the list.[70] Even the Courier thought disunion inevitable.[71] As soon as the compromise measures were passed, Governor Seabrook was urged to convene the legislature, but he refused.[72] The regular session of the legislature opened with days and weeks of wrangling on Federal relations. Nashville's call for a Southern congress became tangled up with the idea of a separate State convention for South Carolina. At length it was voted to send delegates to the Southern congress by popular election, and to hold a state convention at a time to be set by the next legislature unless the Governor called it within the year.[73] Hammond was not satisfied. "I doubt if a single State will send members to the Montgomery Convention. . . . This will make the whole affair ridiculous. . . . I fear our action now is so premature that the other states will recoil." [74]

On sale day in May, the Southern Rights associations of the State met in convention in Charleston on call of the Charleston association.[75] Maxcy Gregg submitted an address and resolutions which took for granted that the coming state convention would withdraw South Carolina from the Union.[76] After two days of speeches the meeting almost unanimously adopted the resolutions and formed itself into a Southern Rights Association of the State of

[69] Mercury, August 28, September 5, October 4, 1850.

[70] Ibid., November 6, October 21, 1850. South Carolinian, October 22, 1850.

[71] Courier, November 7, 1850. Of course there was some opposition to this disunion talk. The Greenville Southern Patriot was founded about this time. Courier, November 15, 1850.

[72] Governor Towns of Georgia had said that if South Carolina did anything decided, the Union party would be able to bind Georgia to submission. W. B. Seabrook papers, Seabrook to Colonel John A. Leland, September 21, 1850; Seabrook to [Governor of Alabama, Virginia, Mississippi,] September 20, 1850, Confidential; Governor G. W. Towns to Seabrook, September 25, 1850.

[73] South Carolina Journals, 1850; Courier, November 30–December 21, 1850; Mercury, December 20, 21, 1850; Diary, December 21, 1850. The second session of the Nashville Convention, the one Hammond did not attend, called a Southern congress.

[74] Diary, December 25, 1850.

[75] Mercury, February 14, 1851.

[76] Courier, May 6–9, 1851.

South Carolina. By the summer of 1851 the reaction against the extreme secession attitude of the State Rights convention was producing, though slowly, a strong Cooperation party. There were, naturally, various shades of opinion on each side. To the Secessionists were attracted all who wanted to do something and believed that secession was the only alternative to abject submission. Their main leader was Barnwell Rhett. Of the Cooperationists some, like Perry and Waddy Thompson and Poinsett, were for entire submission; some, and a larger number, were not willing to secede without a previous agreement with other States.

Most Cooperationists wanted to wait, several years, for cooperation, and to secede alone only as a last and desperate alternative. Here Hammond was to be found. Others of this group were Langdon Cheves, Congressmen Barnwell, Butler, Woodward, Orr and Burt: all the judges except Chancellor Dargan, and, said Hammond, "generally the ablest & most judicious men throughout the state."[77] Charleston was two-thirds Cooperation. This Cooperation group tried its hardest, but in vain, to get Hammond out to work for it.[78] He had been defeated by Rhett for the Senate. He had seen the legislature adopt measures which he thought rashly premature. He determined then, and made his determination known, that he would have no more to do with public affairs. His withdrawal, however, was not suffered to go unresisted. Even in his retirement men of all opinions wrote to him for advice.[79] Yet though he would not come out, he was working for their success. He had been stuffing Aldrich with facts and plans for months past,[80] and he

[77] Diary, September 7, 1851. Hammond considered he had founded this group.

[78] W. A. Owens to Hammond, August 20, 1851; H. R. Spann to Hammond, August 25, 1851; Charleston Cooperation Party to Hammond, August 28, 1851; Hammond to the Charleston Cooperation Party, September 1, 1851.

[79] Hammond to Carew and Heart, January 16, 1851, A. Drafted S.: A. P. Aldrich to Hammond, January 7, 1851, January 20, 1851 (out of place chronologically); Simms to Hammond, January 30, 1851; B. Tucker to Hammond, February 4, 1851; James Jones to Hammond, April 5, 1851; F. J. McCarthy to Hammond, April 21, 1851; Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, April 29, 1851.

[80] Diary, October 14, November 30, December 4.

gave his views fully and plainly to Gregg and Jones among the Secessionists.

No one expected that the Southern Congress for which elections were to be held in October would meet, for summer elections in other States had shown that South Carolina stood alone in opposition to the Compromise. But the elections could be used to show whether the very Secessionist State convention elected in February did or did not fairly represent the mind of the State. Certainly if the October elections showed a Cooperation preponderance the convention would not take the State into secession. The Secessionists took up the challenge.[81] Hammond thought the Cooperationists had made a mistake, for they had been organized so recently that they could lose, and still not be really outnumbered; and he was sure they would not win. Such was the general expectation, but in the end the Secessionists were annihilated. In every district except one, and that one Rhett's own, the Cooperationists easily won.[82]

When the elections showed so plainly that the State was not ready for separate State secession, the defeated Secessionist leaders fell back on Hammond's Plan of Action,[83] now known by some of them to be his.[84] Hammond himself believed that his Plan was the only feasible thing. He gave them his opinions. He thought that there should be a large party formed now of all but the extreme wings of both Cooperationists and Secessionists, composed of all the reasonable voters who had ever contemplated secession, and that for this party his Plan was the best programme. The plan of keeping up the Secession organiza-

[81] Courier, September 17, 1851; Mercury, September 9, 1851.

[82] Mercury, October 29, 1851.

[83] It had been published anonymously in the Mercury, on May 2, 1851, and was later fathered by A. P. Aldrich. Hammond said of it that "the plan is simply to cut every tie between So Ca & the Fed. Gov. which can be cut without affording a pretext for collision & to remain thus with one foot out of the Union until a sufficient number of States take the same ground." Senators and Congressmen would not be elected, for instance (Diary, May 25, 1851).

[84] James Jones to Hammond, October 26, 1851; John Cunningham to Hammond, November 10, 1851, Confidential; Diary, November 21, 1851; A. P. Aldrich to Hammond, November 8, 10, 11, 1851.

tion was, he thought, foolish in the extreme. "Nothing could be more weak in policy or unpatriotic in principle."[85]

For Rhett at this time Hammond had only bitterest condemnation. His mildest idea was that Rhett was moved by a desire for notoriety,[86] and upon him should be laid the blame for the outcome of the recent elections in other States. He wrote him down as having in a twelvemonth scattered to the winds the Resistance party which existed in posse if not in esse at the time of the Nashville convention. Hammond rejected the finality of the Clay Compromise so thoroughly that he was unable to see that the compromise and not Rhett's excess of violence had caused South Carolina's isolation.

In the same bitterness of mind and heart which led him to speak so severely of Rhett, Hammond declined what he admitted was a chance to become the leader of the South. R. K. Crallé and D. H. Loudon, president of the central Southern Rights Association of Virginia, wrote separately to him late in December of 1851 and urged him to write a memorial of Southern injuries. It was to be laid by the convention of the Southern Rights Associations of Virginia before the Virginia legislature, and by them before the United States Congress. It offered him, he said, "much the best opportunity I have ever had for distinguishing myself. . . . But I declined it. Repudiated by my own State . . . broken up as I am in my own household. . . . I could not forget myself long enough even to begin it fairly." Nor did A. P. Aldrich's lengthy attempt to prove the invitation really a vindication of his character suffice to move him.[87]

In the interval between the calling[88] and the meeting of

[85] Hammond to Simms, November 21, 1851; Diary, November 21, 30, 1851.

[86] Diary, August 10, 1850, January 8, 31, 1851.

[87] D. H. Loudon to Hammond, December 22, 1851; Richard K. Crallé to Hammond, December, 4, 1851; Diary, January 6, 1852; Hammond to Simms, January 23, 1852; A. P. Aldrich to Hammond, January 30, 1852; B. Tucker probably had something to do with extending the invitation.

[88] The convention, the date of the meeting of which had been left to the succeeding legislature, had, after much hesitation, been set

the convention Hammond's advice and help were sought by men of both Secession and Cooperation belief. As soon as it became evident that separate state secession could not now be carried, and the Secessionists began to fall back on Hammond's Plan, Maxcy Gregg, one of the most active Secession leaders, sought Hammond's counsel and continued to consult him after the call for the convention had been issued.[89] At Rhett's suggestion he asked him to prepare the leading documents for the coming convention. Hammond refused. "I wrote to Gregg positively declining to write anything for the Convention or to advise anything or even to express any opinion upon the present state of affairs."[90] But what pride had failed to induce Hammond to do, what sensitiveness had caused him to refuse to do, friendship succeeded in drawing him into. His faithful Aldrich about the same time declared that he would adopt his suggestion to move as soon as the Convention assembled that it adjourn sine die, and sent him the resolutions he would introduce if he failed to secure adjournment.[91] Hammond disapproved of the resolutions, and, feeling it due to friendship to say so, drew up what he said was really a schedule of submission for doing the act in the best possible manner.[92]

The Convention met April 26, 1852. At first, though the Secessionists had a clear majority, they were in a snarl,

for the fourth Monday in April, 1852 (A. P. Aldrich to Hammond, November 26, 1851; Mercury, December, 9, 1851).

[89] Hammond was still interested in his Plan but only as an incident in the larger plan of disunion. "Order is a prime necessity in every community, especially an agricultural one & most especially a slave-holding one. To the great body of the Southern People, the Union is the only tangible & appreciable Representative of Order, & it is solely on this account that they love & sustain it. . . . They must be enlightened so as to appreciate these oppressions. . . & not wait for physical demonstration. And, pari passu, steps must be taken. . . to insure the rupture of the Union, *which do not in the first instance involve any violation of Order*. . . . My Plan is the first proper measure yet propounded" (Diary, December 4, 1851).

[90] Diary, April 24, 1852; Maxcy Gregg to Hammond, March 29, 1852.

[91] They were to the effect that South Carolina was ready to divide the Union and would do so as soon as enough other States agreed.

[92] Diary, April 24, 1852. Hammond to Simms, April 27, 1852.

without concert of policy. Both Secessionists and Co-operationists appointed unofficial committees to confer with each other, but these committees proved quite unable to agree upon any line of action. To Hammond's Plan the Convention paid little attention. Gregg would not consider it without serious amendments, and Aldrich would not move or even vote for it so amended.[93] The report of the committee of twenty-one was finally adopted by a seven-to-one vote. It consisted of a resolution that South Carolina was amply justified "in dissolving at once all political connection with her co-States; and that she forbears the exercise of this manifest right of self-government from considerations of expediency only." To this was added an ordinance relative to the right to secede: "ordained, That South Carolina . . . [has a] right, without let, hindrance or molestation from any power whatsoever, to secede from the said Federal Union: and that for the sufficiency of the causes . . . she is responsible alone, under God, to the tribunal of public opinion among the nations of the earth."[94]

"The incident of the Convention," said Hammond, "was the resignation of Rhett." He was in Columbia, although he was not a member of the Convention, "and wished to address the secession caucus when it met but they would not hear him." He was further reproved by the refusal of the convention to give him the ayes and noes on a measure in which he was interested, and he had been much hurt by Clemens's charge that he was in affinity with the advocates of free soil. "Thus," commented Hammond characteristically, "he was literally kicked out in disgrace & infamy . . . & so terminates the career of the man thus used to destroy me."[95] So far had the Secessionists overreached themselves that the cause of Southern nationality was set back a decade.

[93] Maxcy Gregg to Hammond, March 29, 1852; A. P. Aldrich to Hammond, April 20, 1852.

[94] Journal of the State Convention of South Carolina, 1852, pp. 18–19; Mercury, April 28–30, May 1, 1852. This first resolution resembles closely one of the resolutions in Hammond's Plan.

[95] A. P. Aldrich to Hammond, May 3, 1852; Hammond to Simms, May 14, 1852; Diary, May 12, 1852; Mercury, March 11, 1852.

CHAPTER VI

Hammond in the Senate

With the close of the State Convention in South Carolina in 1852, there began for Hammond a period of political inactivity which lasted unbroken for five years. "I have done with the public forever in every form & shape," he said to himself just after the convention dissolved.[1] About the middle of November he was nominated for the Senate for a six-year term, along with A. G. Magrath.[2] His friends canvassed and found he would get his usual vote of about a third of the whole, and they therefore would not permit his name to go up. Aldrich found different reasons for this lack of support alleged by the groups, from the small fry refusal to elevate a man of doubtful morals to Carew's idea that Hammond should have gone to the second session of the Nashville convention.[3] Hammond had said that he would accept only a unanimous election, and would value that only as a reversal of unjust condemnation, but that he should be shelved for any such collection of reasons as Aldrich found in circulation made him bitterly eloquent. To Simms he complained of "the undeserved infamy which the State has wantonly landed on me & my children, the effect of which poor Harry has already felt. It is outrageous & I wish that South Carolina stood upon the Cliffe of Hell & I had power to cast her into the flaming gulf below. I would do it before you could cross a t. . . . That

[1] DeBow wanted to insert a memoir and portrait of him in his Review, but Hammond refused (J. D. B. DeBow to Hammond, April 27, 1852; Hammond to J. D. B. DeBow, May 10, 1852). The Moultrieville Guards invited him to deliver the anniversary oration which he had refused to give the year before. He refused again. Wm. H. Bartless to Hammond, May 1, 1852; Hammond to Wm. H. Bartless, May 10, 1852; Diary, May 12, 1852.

[2] A. P. Aldrich to Hammond, November 15, 1852.

[3] A. P. Aldrich to Hammond, December 7, 1852; Diary, December 11, 1852.

double-dyed traitor & scoundrel Magrath has been undermining me from the beginning."[4]

During all this long period of retirement Hammond was lonesome. He was not always alone, he was by no means inactive, but, save for Simms, no one, wife, children, friends, came close to him. "Friends I have none. Neighbors none . . . no one knows what I suffer. . . . My friends have given me up."[5] "I cannot possibly conceive," he told Simms, "of any earthly power or event that could galvanize me to any wholesome vitality or stimulate me to any important or useful action apart from my own selfish & sensual routine."[6] Of political activity he had absolutely none. Yet though he was at heart so melancholy, he succeeded almost entirely in concealing his mood. "When you and others see me, my looks & language & conduct so contradict what I have written that you cannot but laugh at me." And Simms agreed with him. Years later, when Hammond's death had covered his faults and aroused Simms' grief, he wrote of him in the Mercury, that during this comparative retirement, "his house, always the seat of a generous hospitality, was a constant point of attraction to distinguished friends and youthful admirers. Here with that wonderful fluency which characterized his conversation . . . he spelled the senses through late hours to the delight of the listener."[7]

Hammond had given up politics entirely, but the mind which had there found congenial employment could not cease to exist, and, existing, could not fail to busy itself with something. To theology he devoted, in the next year or so, much of the time he had been wont to put into politics. He had all his life been something of a student

[4] Diary, May 12, 1852; Hammond to Simms, December 10, 1852. Need it be said that his violent mood passed?

[5] Diary, June 7, July 29, 1852. The same undertone of aloofness, grieving, involuntary, and sometimes bitter, runs through the diary of these years. For five years there are barely a hundred and fifty pages of correspondence. At other periods there are single days on which he received as much.

[6] Hammond to Simms, October 25, 1853.

[7] Mercury, November 28, 1864.

of the Bible.[8] By September 1854 he had hammered out and given logical form to what he called: "My Religion this, 16 Sept. 1854." Of this no more need be said than that it was unitarianism with a touch of spiritualism. It included also his constant belief that most or all of his misfortunes were due to an especially malignant personal Providence.

In connection with his reflections on God and a future life, Hammond came across Judge Edmonds' Spiritualism and read it with attention and approval.[9] Through this he became more and more interested in that doctrine. He talked and argued with the somewhat reluctant Simms until he too believed spiritualism to be true, and until his own feeling deepened into sure conviction.[10] While Simms was in New York in the fall of 1856 Hammond sent him money for spiritualistic tests and questions, which he was to ask four or five mediums, and he regarded the results as absolute proof. "To *me* Spiritualism is a great & glorious thing. . . . These phenomena demonstrate a future life for us. . . . We *now* KNOW that we live after death."[11] He was so much interested that he took the lead in bringing a medium to Augusta, Georgia. Even after he reached the United States Senate he was regarded by the Spiritualists as so far one of them that a man from a distance claimed his aid on the ground that both were Spiritualists.[12]

In May, 1851, Hammond had moved with all his family to the Sand Hills near Augusta, and had given it out that he

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[8] He was never a member of any church. Far from it. He says, for instance, in 1839, that "the mysteries of Xianity are as absurd as many others" (Hammond on Christianity, October 13, 1839). Though this article is dated so precisely, it is included in volume among the undated papers in the Library of Congress.

[9] Hammond's Diary, December 13, 1853.

[10] "My mind however is made up. . . if all the phenomena were to prove sham it would not change me. The thing is so" (Hammond to Simms, July 14, 1856).

[11] Simms to Hammond, September 7, October 13, December 8, 30, 1856; Hammond to Simms, March 20, 1857.

[12] Hammond to Simms, June 1, 1857; David Quinn (Cincinnati, Ohio) to Hammond, April 17, 1858.

had left the State forever.[13] For several years he was seeking a permanent residence other than Silverton. During the summer of 1853 he looked all around Aiken for four or five miles and tried to buy, making a half dozen offers and sounding out as many more, but to no end. In the spring of 1855 he bought Dr. Milledge Galphin's residence in Beach Island[14] which he named Redcliffe, from the red bluff in front of it. It is a beautiful situation, with a wide view which Hammond especially loved. Across the river are the Georgia hills which he called his front fence. Redcliffe was his residence for the remainder of his life. Here he built a fine house, and a little white church, which he called St. Catherine's, and which he attended. Here he lies buried in his little brick-walled family graveyard, with his wife and his children around him.

By the end of 1856 there were indications that Hammond was once more feeling an interest in that life beyond his plantation which he had so thoroughly given up five years before. That fall he wrote a letter to the editor of the London Spectator, upon an aspect of slavery not often emphasized. Had the editor, he asked, ever really known a negro. "You speak of African slavery as if it were the slavery of . . . [Anglo-Saxon or Celt]. . . . But it is not & you are wholly wrong. I would not cage an Eagle or even a Hawk. Shall we therefore rear no poultry? . . . Nowhere and at no time has the African ever attained so high a status . . . as in the condition of *American* SLAVERY."[15]

Hammond had said some years before that politics was his vocation. He might abjure it, he might desire, as at

[13] Diary, May 25, 1851.

[14] Beach Island is the name of a large, roughly triangular region on the Savannah River, defined by three of the many streams. One point of the triangle is almost opposite Augusta, Georgia. Redcliffe is so near Augusta that it is easily visible from the city on a clear day. Silverton, Hammond's old home, was also in Beach Island, farther down the river.

[15] Hammond to the Editor [of the London Spectator], October 22, 1856, Autograph Draft.

one angry moment he did, to push South Carolina over the cliff of Hell, but he could not hold to such an impulse. The letter to the Spectator shows by the mere writing of it that Hammond was once more arousing himself, by its style and forcefulness that his ability had not rusted from disuse. With the beginning of 1857 came the first step in the renewal of his political career. Preston Brooks, he who caned Sumner, died in February. He was the representative of the district in which Redcliffe lay and Hammond was at once spoken of for the vacancy. The nomination was made, an organization to elect him got up, and he was at last forced to say he would not serve if elected.[16] A. P. Butler, Senator from South Carolina, who had been chosen over Hammond in 1846, died in May 1857, and left a vacancy for the legislature to fill. Hammond was naturally mentioned for the place, but he had refused positively to go to the House,[17] and was inclined only a little more to go to the Senate. At first he consented not to decline an election,[18] but his reluctance to being a candidate grew stronger as election time drew nearer. He and his brother Marcellus quarreled so seriously that the Major left Redcliffe at midnight and was not heard from for several weeks. In a letter to the Mercury, Hammond declined to be a candidate "or to serve if elected."[19]

[16] M. C. M. Hammond to Hammond, February 2, 5, 1857; John A. Calhoun to Hammond, February 8, 1857 (he was Calhoun's nephew); Diary, May 6, 1857, and in general the Hammond papers for February and March, 1857.

[17] And this even though he knew people were disappointed and mortified (H. A. Meetze to Hammond, May 24, 1857).

[18] Hammond to John Cunningham, June 26, 1857; to Dr. George Douglass, July 15, 1857. To himself and to his intimates he explained his position fully. "I do not seek office from the State. She has committed a *great* & wanton outrage upon me. . . . She must spontaneously & with large unanimity expunge the stain she has fixed upon me, before I will lift a finger in obedience to her beyond what the law compels everyone to do. . . . *Here I rest*" (Hammond to Simms, August 13, 1857).

[19] Diary, September 29, 1857. He went on to say that he was sorry he had not done it weeks ago. For the letter, dated finally October 2, 1857, see the Mercury, October 5, 1857. His son, Major

Though he did not know it, the leaders were paying no attention to his refusal. They could not do so, for he was too evidently the only available candidate; too nearly alone as a great man who had kept clear of all connection with this faction or that; and had expressed no opinion on any of the controversies of the past five years. He had kept out of the intermittent controversy over negro seamen which endured from 1852 to 1856. He had so far taken no part in the argument over the re-opening of the slave trade. He had been unmoved by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act. Most important of all, he had not, so far as anyone knew, expressed any opinion of the problem of South Carolina's relations with the political parties. In 1855 and 1856, to go no further back, the question whether to join the Democratic party, or to form a great Southern party of their own, had divided the State into two camps. J. L. Orr was leader of those who still had faith in the Democratic party, L. M. Keitt of those opposed to joining the Cincinnati convention. F. W. Pickens had presided over the state convention on sale day, May, 1856, the convention in which, save Charleston, none of the parishes was represented, and which gave the Democratic party a chance. R. B. Rhett had already proved too radical. The editors of the Mercury did all they could to strengthen the party lines. These men all had at heart the same desire, the welfare of the South, but they differed so widely on methods, and their personal antagonisms were so keen that they could not gain united action.

When the legislature took up the election late in November, Hammond, Pickens, Chesnut, J. S. Preston and R. B. Rhett were nominated. Hammond got sixty-five on the first ballot. On the second, Preston, Rhett, and the few scattering ones withdrew. On the third Hammond got eighty-five votes and was elected. Such was the enthusiasm displayed at the result that it was probably true, as his

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Spann Hammond, considers this letter the most entirely admirable act in his father's career.

brother Marcellus said, that Hammond was the choice of the State.[20]

"When the result was known, for the first time in my life I heard a shout in the House and in the lobby. General Hammond will be here in a day or two, and preparations are now being made for his reception, and I assure you it will be a grand affair."[21]

Hammond was deeply delighted. "This is a signal triumph over all my enemies & . . . a full compensation & more for all I have endured. It wipes off every calumny & put[s] my name among the foremost of So Ca without a stain."[22]

Hammond had been out of office for nearly fifteen years, and out of the public eye entirely for five years. Altogether his public service amounted to less than four years and he had a number of times been defeated for office. To the world outside of South Carolina, therefore, the peculiarly high endorsement with which he was sent to the Senate appeared incomprehensible. The real reason why he was chosen was that he was available, that if no faction placed him first, all placed him second only to their own favorite. His choice was, then, obviously pleasing to all the leaders and all their political followers. The reasons why the people of the State raised a cheer at his choice are, if not so obvious, certainly strong. They believed him intensely patriotic, as they understood patriotism. He had led his district in nullification. He had in Congress taken the highest ground against abolition agitation. He had as governor expelled Samuel Hoar and been ready, they believed, to fight the Union. His writings, which to the Northerner seemed occasional or fallacious, to his fellow Carolinians were unanswerable. The effect of his Clarkson letters was to make him the prophet, the expounder, of his State. The

[20] Diary, December 9, 1857; M. C. M. Hammond to Hammond, November, 1857.

[21] Courier, Columbia correspondence of November 30, 1857; Sam. T. Tupper to Hammond, December 2, 1857.

[22] Diary, December 9, 1857.

philosophy of his cotton-manufacturing orations of 1841 and 1849, though it did not stir the State to action, met with heartiest approval. Especially did people enjoy his conclusion that they could have had $24,000,000 a year more.

More influential upon the Carolinian mind than what Hammond said, was what he was. He was the baron of his district and one of the great barons of the State. He owned thousands of acres of land and could ride for a day and still be master of all he saw. At a time when thirty-eight families in Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas had more than three hundred slaves,[23] Hammond was one of the thirty-eight. As a planter he was at once theoretical and practical; being scientific enough to make experiments and to express their results clearly, practical enough to increase to a degree the value of his holdings.[24] He was very willing to give advice and to spread abroad all that he knew about planting. He helped found the State Agricultural Society in 1830 and his papers are full of agricultural questions and requests. His neighbors, great and small, looked to him as a really eminent planter in the days when planting was the only honorable occupation. It was as planter, patriot and statesman that they sent him to the United States Senate.

Hammond took his seat in the Senate January 7, 1858. He was not impressed with what he found there. The Senate was a "vulgar set of mere sharpshooters—county court lawyers & newspaper politicians." For Buchanan the liking he had felt even before his nomination had grown to a cordial support and the possibility of some influence with him. The selfish separateness of Southern representatives disgusted him entirely.[25] He was silent in the Senate for some time, always, however, keeping watch on the Kansas situation. At this time that region was quiet, for the

[23] Century of Population Growth, p. 136, U. S. Bureau of the Census.

[24] To be sure, some years he records that he made only a bare crop.

[25] Hammond to Simms, December 19, 1857, January 20, 1858.

Free State party was in full control there, but with the opening of Congress came Douglas's assault on the Lecompton constitution, the confusing verdicts from Kansas, and the ensuing bitter struggle.

Hammond's contribution to the wordy debate was delivered on March 4, 1858, in answer to Seward's assertion that the South was now a conquered province which the North would rule. To Kansas he devoted a short legalistic argument to show that the Lecompton constitution was "the sovereign act of a people legally assembled in convention."[26]

However, the real burden of this first speech was not the Kansas troubles but a comparison of the resources of North and South. The territory and population of the South were ample for an empire. As to production, the South had every great staple the North had, besides two or three which the North could never hope for. Of surplus production, Hammond showed by the 1857 report of the Secretary of the Treasury that the South had per capita $16.66, against not over $10.00 for the North. The South would have no army or navy, for she would have free trade, not a protective tariff; other nations would come to her to do business, and she would have no sea trade of her own, no commerce, and consequently no foreign wars.

> Would any sane nation make war on cotton? . . . The South is perfectly competent to go on, one, two, or three years without planting a seed of cotton. . . . What would happen if no cotton was furnished for three years? . . . England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her save the South. No, you dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton *is* King.

The greatest strength of the South arose from the unparalleled harmony between her political and her social institutions.

> In all social systems there must be a class to do the menial duties, to perform the drudgery of life. That is, a class requiring but a low order of intellect and but little skill. Its requisites are vigor, docility, fidelity. Such a class you must have. . . . It constitutes the very

[26] Hammond, Letters and Speeches, p. 311.

mud-sill of society and of political government; and you might as well attempt to build a house in the air, as to build either the one or the other, except on this mud-sill. Fortunately for the South she found a race adapted to that purpose to her hand. . . . We use them for our purpose and call them slaves.

Hammond's peroration was brief, simple, impressive, the very valedictory of the South he loved:

The Senator from New York says. . . that you intend to take the Government from us, that it will pass from our hands into yours. Perhaps what he says is true; it may be; but do not forget—it can never be forgotten—it is written on the brightest page of human history—that we, the slaveholders of the South, took our country in her infancy, and after ruling her for sixty out of the seventy years of her existence, we surrendered her to you without a stain upon her honor, boundless in prosperity, incalculable in her strength, the wonder and the admiration of the world. Time will show what you will make of her, but no time can diminish our glory or your responsibility.[27]

The galleries were packed, and the floor of the Senate chamber thronged. There was a great curiosity to hear this new Senator whom South Carolina had sent to represent her with such peculiarly high endorsement.[28] In the South praise of the speech was almost unrestrained, though naturally some of the leaders were cool. Newspapers by the ten and score pronounced it irresistible. In Charleston the Courier approved in the main, the Mercury all through and the Constitutionalist pretty strongly.[29] Journals and individuals alike hailed him a worthy Elisha to Calhoun.[30] It was published and distributed free over one entire Virginia county, and the New York Tribune also gave it in full.[31]

Though there was, even in the North, some approval,[32] Hammond admitted that, as a whole, that section was in

[27] Ibid., pp. 321–322.

[28] Paul F. Hammond, Memoir of Hammond, Pamphlet. Copy in the MSS. Division, Library of Congress.

[29] M. C. M. Hammond to Hammond, March 15, 1858.

[30] Charleston Evening News; the New York Journal of Commerce; A. H. Brisbane to Hammond, March 10, 1858; Simms to Hammond, March 27, 1858.

[31] Charleston Standard, March 17, 1858; H. S. Olcott to Hammond, March 14, 1858.

[32] See the 1858 clipping book in the Hammond papers. Unfortunately the clippings are not always dated, and it is therefore not always possible to tell what speech they refer to.

arms against him. Most of the open resentment was directed against his statement that an unskilled, inferior, menial class was the very mudsill of society. He was usually referred to in the North hereafter as Mudsill Hammond, and one faction of the California Democrats took the name of mudsill.[33] In this resentment the main objection was that a mudsill class was composed of those fit for nothing better than to lie in the mud and be trampled on. This was a wrong idea. To Hammond the mudsill was an essential substructure. He used the word years before, where there was no possible reference to slavery.[34] "I do believe," he said, "that a proper appreciation of money & the exaction of strict punctuality in all pecuniary transactions is the very cornerstone or perhaps I should say the mud-sill on which the fabric of human happiness in this life rests." [35]

Hammond in caucus reserved the right to vote against the Kansas bill,[36] yet when the bill passed the Senate, Hammond voted for it. He wished to show that South Carolina was willing to yield to the wishes of the South, that she did not seek to isolate herself. He wanted as of old to "put her en raport with the most advanced part of the South and not out of reach of any." In the conference committee necessitated by the diverse action of House and Senate, Wm. H. English of Indiana proposed that compromise which finally became law. Kansas was to have her demand for land cut from 23,000,000 to 4,000,000 acres. If she accepted the cut, the President should proclaim her admission to the Union with the Lecompton constitution, if not, then statehood must wait for population sufficient for one representative. Hammond had something to do with the final shape of the English bill, though how much the apparent

[33] G. Bailey to Hammond, November 8, 1858.
[34] Hammond to Simms, May 28, 1854.
[35] Paul Hammond, Memoir, p. 11 and Harry Hammond (Appleton: Cyc. Am. Biog., vol. iii, pp. 67–68), also explain the phrase in this way.
[36] Hammond to Simms, March 24, 1858.

double-dealing of Stephens made uncertain. Hammond drew up a list of objections to the bill and Hunter and Stephens told him that the committee had refused to agree to all except one of them. He found out too late that they had never told the committee about them and that they would have been allowed, had the committee known of them.[37]

Outside the Kansas question Hammond's work at the session needs but brief notice. He spoke once or twice on British aggressions.[38] To the regular routine of the Senate he devoted much time and trouble. He was on the naval committee and after the removal of Biggs (North Carolina) he was on the finance committee to fill the vacancy. He grumbled at the work, of course: "I am utterly fagged down with 8 hours a day in Com or in Senate . . . on the finance under Hunter—old woman, afraid of his own shadow—talent for analysis—imaginative—no capacity to govern men at all. . . . Walking in the street, mephitic as it is I can frame a speech . . . but half an hour in that damned Senate reduces me below big timber."[39]

As the session went on, Hammond became more and more disgusted and hopeless.[40] Despite his belief and that of many of his correspondents that the South ought to say "Kansas or disunion," he did not believe that she would get herself together and say it clearly and unanimously

[37] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, May 1, 1858.

[38] In 1857 and 1858 suspected American slavers were searched in the Gulf of Mexico by British cruisers. Protests were at once registered by Cass, and the subject came up on the floor of Congress. Though for a time the aspect was threatening, Malmesbury's acceptance of the American contention removed all danger, and the only effect of Hammond's speech was to strengthen his hold on his constituents whose sentiments he accurately represented. John Russell to Hammond, June 7, 1858; [Simms] to Hammond, June 11, 1858; F. W. Byrdsall to Hammond, June 1, 1858.

[39] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, May 16, 23, 1858. Mrs. Hammond testified to the amount of work her husband was doing, but she said he was standing the strain very well. Hammond admitted there were "many agreeabilities."

[40] For general disgust see, Hammond to B. F. Perry, April 9, 1858, Perry's Reminiscences, pp. 110–111.

enough to be heard by the North.[41] That the South united and unanimous could get from the North far more than the North really desired to concede, he did not feel it necessary to keep saying. Certainly he did every thing he could to keep her united. His opposition to the Kansas bill as it passed the Senate has been noticed, yet he voted for the bill. He thought of himself as yielding to the wishes of the South, and as putting South Carolina not out of reach of any part of the South.[42] "At any sacrifice short of principle So Ca should keep in the ranks with the South—especially when the whole South is in array." So thinking, he was the more dismayed to find the South at Washington not even remotely ready to unite in recommending any measure, extreme or moderate:

> The South here is utterly unorganized & I fear demoralized. . . . We have no concert. . . Each one is striking out for himself. More than half the men in both houses think they have a chance for the presidency and act accordingly.
>
> Do you know we have ten aspirants for the Presidency among So. Senators. Confidentially. . .Breckenridge, Hunter, Davis, Toombs, Brown, Johnson of Tenn., Crittenden, Bell Mason, Houston, besides 4 members of the Cabinet—Poor South.[43]

By the end of the session he entirely despaired of immediate disunion. Outside of South Carolina, whose lead would not be accepted by the South as yet, only Clay of Alabama and one or two more were prepared for it. Napier, the British Ambassador, who had cultivated Hammond, asked his opinion on the matter of disunion. Hammond pointed out that there were two presidential elections in six or seven years, and gave it as his opinion that "we may not separate on the first if the South is beaten, if we do not if beaten on the second, the Union is perpetual." And to Napier's objection that Seward thought it impossible ever to sever the Union, Hammond replied, "He may think so."[44]

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[41] Hammond to Simms, January 20, February 7, 1858; Tradewell to Hammond, February 11, 1858; Herschel V. Johnson to Hammond, May 1, 1858; I. W. Hayne to Hammond, January 24, 1858.

[42] Hammond to Simms, March 22, 24, 1858.

[43] Ibid., January 20, March 24, 1858; Perry, Reminiscences, p. 111.

[44] Diary, April 16, 1861. The Hammonds and the Clays were

Despairing of disunion, Hammond went south to receive the verdict of his constituents on his work. The very general satisfaction at his speech on the Kansas question has been mentioned, but even in this there was an undernote of coolness, due more to what the fire-eaters feared he meant than to what he said. In general his course had established him in the confidence of the State. McCaw of York was heard to say that in five years he would be the law in the State.[45] When Simms proposed to give him a dinner in Beach Island upon his return home, the idea was received with enthusiasm. On July 22, when it occurred, there were twelve or fifteen hundred people there, several hundred of them ladies. Before the dinner was served, "Senator Hammond . . . for an hour enchained the attention of the large assemblage in a speech replete with sound conservative sentiments, in which he gave a full and satisfactory account of his stewardship at the federal metropolis."[46]

Just what the Senator said is, unfortunately, in doubt. The papers presented what they called "a faint and inadequate outline . . . either in matter or manner," but the outline was the basis on which Carolina and Massachusetts and Ohio discussed the speech, and it must therefore be noticed. Separate State secession he disapproved of, entirely and emphatically. If disunion did come, it must be a movement of four or five States, not less. And he did not think disunion was the necessary policy now. Let the South strengthen and consolidate Southern resources and institutions within her present limits. Her ability to do so was greater now than it had ever been. His vote on the English bill he strongly defended. The revival of the slave trade he thought impracticable in the Union, and not

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rather intimate. Hammond's son Paul married into Mrs. Clay's family before the end of the year.

[45] A. P. Aldrich to Hammond, June 26, 1858. Aldrich, who gave him this pleasant news, was one of his most faithful followers, but he was far from a sycophant, and he never hestitated to tell him truths, however unpleasant they were, if only they were true. His estimate therefore may be taken at its face value. Simms, June 26, 1858, agreed with Aldrich.

[46] Courier, July 23, 24, 1858, quoting from the Constitutionalist.

wise outside of it. Of the presidential election of 1860, he thought a free soil victory possible, "but," said the Courier, "he doubted whether the body of the South would be willing to make the issue of disunion on a single presidential triumph of the adversary, but its repetition would undoubtedly be the knell of the Union." [47]

It must be agreed that unless his hearers knew him quite well, they believed he had turned Unionist. After dinner the other speakers were brought out by toasts. Tradewell of Columbia, a warm supporter of Hammond, differed widely with him now and made a decidedly disunion speech. Maxcy Gregg, high priest of secession, made known his alarm at his conservative sentiments and his own refusal to follow him in relying upon the Northern Democratic party. Richard Yeadon, Unionist, invited to speak as a personal and not a political tribute, in a pleasant semi-facetious speech, said he was now in full accord with Hammond. If Hammond's plans suited Yeadon, that was proof enough that they were not good State Rights views.[48]

The speech was badly reported, but it circulated. Soon reports began to come in, a little praise, largely of a sort the speaker would have preferred not to have,[49] and loud demands for explanation, publication, repudiation, even for excommunication. "There can be no doubt," wrote young Barnwell Rhett, "that many of your friends and admirers are disappointed in the Union tendency and tone of your late speech. . . . To show you that it is not inconsiderable it has been urged upon my father Mr. Rhett by gentlemen here to review your speech anonymously and denounce it." [50]

The opposition did not die down during the summer.

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[47] Courier, July 27, 1858.

[48] "Yeadon's hobby is Unionism . . . and for God's sake do not mix yourself up with him" (John Cunningham to Hammond, October 9, 1858).

[49] Waddy Thompson approved it unqualifiedly and at length. The New York Times called it so moderate that Hammond would probably be forced to retract it (New York Times, August 3, 1858).

[50] R. B. Rhett, Jr. to Hammond, August 2, 1858; John Cunningham to Hammond, August 2, 1858.

Hammond was urged again and again to explain what he had meant to say or to settle the question by publishing an authentic version. Even the friendly Courier thought this would be a good plan.[51] In Orangeburg it was proposed to tender him a barbecue as a demand for an explanation.[52] While disapproval of the speech was still high, Hammond increased it in a most unexpected way. Lawrence Orr, speaker of the United States House of Representatives, had not been at Hammond's Beach Island dinner. Therefore Hammond declined politely an invitation to a dinner to Orr. His intention was merely to be polite, and he was amazed when Maxcy Gregg, chief fire-eater, declined an invitation to another dinner to Hammond, on the ground that he had been too complimentary to Orr, and a very faithful friend told him the note had given rise to more complaint against him than anything else he had ever done.[53] Yet Bonham's letter to the Orr Committee had been only less cordial than Hammond's, and still more important, Hammond's indorsement had been given before Orr said at Craytonville that he would stick to the Democratic party, no matter what it did.

Bonham alone of the South Carolina delegation had held out against the English bill.[54] Bonham's dinner, then, was the occasion of a Radical rally. Men spoke or wrote letters, praising Bonham, and condemning Orr and Hammond. And Gregg collected them in a pamphlet, and with it reached hundreds who would otherwise never have heard of the incident.[55] Hammond did not make the mistake of

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[51] Courier, August 6, 1858.

[52] Orangeburg Southern, quoted in Courier, October 12, 1858.

[53] J. L. Orr to Hammond, July 25, 1858; R. N. Wright to Hammond, July 26, 1858; Hammond to the Orr Committee, August 4, 1858, Autograph Draft Signed, in Hammond papers, also in Courier, August 28, 1858; M. L. Bonham to the Orr Committee, Courier, August 28, 1858; Courier, August 21, 1858; Maxcy Gregg to Barnwell Committee, October 23, 1858, A. Df. S.; Paul Quattlebum to Hammond, November 7, 1858.

[54] Cong. Globe, 35th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1899–1904.

[55] Charleston Evening News, November 3, 29, 1858; Mercury, July 5, 15, 22, August 9, 20, September 8, October 19, November 3, 1858; "An Appeal to the State Rights Party of South Carolina,

treating Gregg too lightly. He saw that it would indeed be better for him to explain, and he gave it out that in his speech at Barnwell Court House set, after much delay, for October 29, he would state his position carefully.[56] He opened with a word or two of local interest and turned quickly to Kansas. The Lecompton constitution he would have kicked out of Congress, not because it was fraudulent but because it would not fulfill its purpose of making Kansas a slave state. The English bill the Senator defended clearly. It had accepted the Lecompton constitution, cut Kansas' land grab by five-sixths, and offered her the opportunity of coming in now with the cut, or waiting for statehood until her population justified it. No bill could possibly have forced Kansas to organize under the Lecompton constitution.

It was his opinion that "an overwhelming majority of the South would . . . decidedly prefer to remain in the Union rather than . . . set up a separate government," if the Constitution were properly adhered to. He had come to believe that the South could sustain herself in the Union and even control it. The South could at any time secede, but if she only showed the North clearly just what the limit was of her endurance, the North would not trespass beyond it. "Our history proves that no man and no measure has yet been strong enough to stand against the South when united. I believe none ever will."[57]

The abolitionists could not use the government to destroy the South. So far the result of abolition had been that emancipation, whether by persuasion, by purchase or by coercion, was now as impossible as the removal of Gibraltar. Abolition fanaticism was now ebbing and could not rise again. England and France found out that cotton, sugar,

in several Letters on the present condition of Public Affairs" [Gregg, editor], Columbia, November 19, 1858; Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, November 28, 1858.

[56] Hammond to L. M. Keitt, October 10, 1858, Autograph Draft Signed, marked "not sent"; Hammond to Simms, August 13, 1858; Courier, October 4, 1858.

[57] Hammond, Letters and Speeches, p. 343.

rice, tobacco and coffee could not be produced widely except by slave labor, and they had practically renewed the slave trade in disguise,

Maxcy Gregg had refused to attend the dinner, but there was a word for him nevertheless. Hammond had been given to understand that there were to be two parties in the South, called National and State Rights Democrats. He refused to recognize the distinction:

> I go for the Constitution strictly construed and faithfully carried out. I will make my fight, such as it may be, by the side of any man, whether from the North, South, East, or West, who will do the same.
>
> The Union of these States . . . is not a policy and not a principle. It is subordinate to rights and interests. But the union of the slave holders of the South is a principle involving all our rights and all our interests. . . let us develop and consolidate our resources, and devote ourselves manfully and hopefully to the accomplishment of the magnificent future that is within our reach.

Both North and South the Barnwell speech circulated widely, and was received generally with favor. The Northern press went wild over it.[58] Men troubled themselves to write him approval from Boston, Philadelphia, Norwich, Connecticut, New York, Cincinnati, Dubuque, Reading, Dayton, New Rochelle, Milwaukee, Sing Sing, Chicago, Chepachet, Rhode Island. Lewis Cass wrote, and Glancy Jones of Pennsylvania. Seward told him it was a great speech, and even President Buchanan complimented him on it.[59] Some New York men who admired the policy of it tendered him a dinner whenever it would suit his convenience.[60]

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[58] New York Tribune, undated clipping mentioning the speech by its date; New York Times, November, 1858; Daily Commercial, November 1858; Cincinnati Daily Enquirer, November 14, 1858; Cincinnati Gazette, quoted in the Courier of November 16, 1858; Cincinnati Daily Times, November 3, 1858; Davenport Daily Morning News, November 17, 1858; Davenport State Democrat, November 17, 1858; Boston Courier, November, 1858; Boston Daily Traveller, November 17, 1858; Boston Post, November 17, 1858; Chicago Daily Herald, November 24, 1858.

[59] Lewis Cass to Hammond, November 6, 1858; J. Clancy Jones to Hammond, November 12, 1858; Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, December 11, 1858; Diary, April 16, 1858.

[60] Joseph B. Stewart to Hammond, December 15, 1858. Hammond refused, as he refused several other invitations for dinners this winter in the North.

Most of the Northern approval and much of the Southern disapproval was based on a belief that Hammond was now pro-Union.[61] But it does not appear why a man who declared the Union a policy, not a principle, should be called a lover of the Union. Certainly Hammond would have been more successful in the South had he been a little less hopeful, but even Rhett Junior, that whom none was more radical, said that he hoped to be able to support any measures to enable the South to rule the country in the Union, "for if it were possible to preserve the Union and the South intact, none would rejoice more than I."[62] Hammond despaired of dissolution because Southern leaders could not be induced to move for it as yet. The only wise thing for him to do was to plan the best way for them to maintain themselves in the Union.[63]

Hammond did his utmost to hold himself away from all factions. As soon as he became Senator, various sets tried to use his name for selfish purposes. Even before Evans's death—and his term did not expire until 1859—this man or that sought to have Hammond favor him as Evans's successor.[64] Owens and Tobin who were contesting with L. M. Keitt for his seat in the House, all tried to set themselves right before Hammond.[65] He liked the Rhetts and believed it was well to have someone harping on the string they did, but he saw no reason to link himself up with them. When he was thinking seriously, as he was in the spring of 1858, of buying the Mercury, his idea was to conduct it so as to avoid factions and extremism of all kinds. He could not unite the South if his own South Carolina was factious,[66] and he could do nothing for the South unless it was united.

[61] New Orleans Delta, November 10, 1858; Philadelphia Daily Commerical, November 10, 1858.
[62] R. B. Rhett, Jr. to Hammond, July 26, 1858.
[63] Diary, April 16, 1861.
[64] Hammond to Simms, April 3, May 21, 1858; Simms to Hammond, May 8, 1858.
[65] W. A. Owens to Hammond, May 11, 1858; John E. Tobin to Hamond, May 25, 1858; L. M. Keitt to Hammond, June 23, 1858.
[66] R. B. Rhett, Jr. to M. C. M. Hammond, January 6, 1858; Ham-

Adams, Gregg & Co. tried to organize the fire-eaters against him. The next possible issue was the election of a successor to Evans, now dead. J. H. Adams was a candidate, and he practically demanded Hammond's aid. The reopening of the slave trade which he had officially favored, Orr had ridiculed. In the secession contest of 1850–1852, Hammond had favored disunion and his Plan of Action for attaining it was in Gregg's possession.[67] Hammond was not in the least disposed to assist Adams. In fact, he said he would resign if Adams were elected, and thought his friends would go for Rhett or McQueen.[68]

When the legislature came up to the election, it was reported that Memminger, Manning and Rhett[69] stood on Hammond's platform, and that Adams and McQueen were ultra. After four or five ballots it was evident that Adams could not win, but that he held the balance of power. He refused to heal the split, however, and his friends went down with him. Finally James Chesnut, Jr., was elected by the grace of the Nationals. Chesnut had defined his position, before the election, as State Rights, anti-convention, anti-slave-trade, agreeing in the main with Hammond. State Rights was sustained and the slave trade agitation absolutely condemned. The cooperation but not the merger of the State with the Democratic party was indicated, and the support of all the State save the few fire-eating slave-trade men was assured to Hammond. Small wonder, then, that Hammond, who was in Columbia at the time, was highly delighted.[70]

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mond to Simms, March 22, April 3, October 26, 1858; Simms to Hammond, March 27, April 12, 1858; S. S. Farrar to Hammond, March 30, 1858; A. P. Aldrich to Hammond, April 22, 1858; John Cunningham to Hammond, May 3, 1858; I. W. Hayne to Hammond, June 9, 1858.

[67] J. H. Adams to Hammond, September 22, 1858. The tone of the letter is not so unfriendly as the apparent threat indicates. Adams was governor. Hammond considered his leading enemies so closely in accord that he referred to them as Adams, Gregg & Co.

[68] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, November 28, 1858.

[69] Rhett denied that this was true of him, but the impression prevailed, and won him some of his votes.

[70] Courier, August 9, October 23, 29, November 30, December 3, 7, 10; J. H. Adams to Hammond, September 22, 1858; Hammond to

With the reopening of Congress Hammond returned to Washington, only to encounter a situation which made him disgusted with the Democrats. The presidential election was almost two years off, yet he found it already occupying everyone's mind to the exclusion of everything else.

"Every man wishes to be Pres. or has a man for Pres. or is deadly opposed to some man & this is the session to try all the nags entered or to be entered on the Steward's books. Every Senator even appears to keep his hand on his betting book & his mind on it." [71]

Only the selfish separation of the entire Northern delegation was visible. He knew the extent to which in the South the representatives controlled and guided popular opinion; it was then not unnatural to suppose the same thing true of the North. Reasoning thus he saw nothing to prevent the working of his plan to rule the Union in the Union. He did not realize how the North was united against slavery. Some of his friends did see chances against his plan. Trescot was doubtful. "The question is," said he, "whether if you were in power you could act your speech." [72] Cunningham of the Charleston Evening News was even more definite. "If the South could get rid of the slavery question, which bands the North, she might be potent as a balance of power; for even on the tariff the North could be divided." But this could not be, and the South could look for nothing but subjection or separation.[73]

Notwithstanding this very serious criticism from men undoubtedly Southern, Hammond continued to believe in his

M. C. M. Hammond, November 28, 1858; Charleston Evening News, December 6, 1858; P. G. Bowman told Hammond that Chestnut had withdrawn in 1857 on a promise that Hammond's friends would favor him in the next vacancy. And what evidence there is does not contradict this; P. G. Bowman to Hammond, January 24, 1859; Hammond had thought ten years back that Chestnut "would yet play an important part in Public affairs" (Diary, December 16, 1850).

[71] Hammond to Simms, December 15, 1858, January 21, 1859; Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, February 13, 1859.

[72] Wm. H. Trescot to Hammond, December 5, 1858.

[73] John Cunningham to Hammond, April 18, 1859. Cunningham was even more of a secessionist than Hammond.

plan. "My idea is, as it has long been, to continue to do what we have so long done, rule the Union in the Union. It is what our hands find to do & is therefore our highest duty. And it is what under wise counsel & prudent conduct we can do." [74]

To carry out his plan it was essential that the South do nothing to outrage the moderate Northerners, above all, that she keep strictly within constitutional limits. But she was doing her utmost, it seemed, to shock the North and break the law. In August 1858, the slaver Echo entered Charleston harbor in charge of a prize crew from the U. S. S. Dolphin. At first when the federal authorities tried to prosecute the Echo's crew, the grand jury of Charleston refused to indict them. When later the crew was tried for piracy in the United States Circuit Court at Charleston, the jury acquitted them. The yacht Wanderer, under the flag of the New York Yacht Club, entered the Savannah River with three hundred negroes fresh from Africa. The cargo was taken up the river to a point near Augusta, and thence distributed widely. No one was ever punished, and the Wanderer, offered for sale, was bought by a part-owner without opposition.[75] For the action of the South in these cases, Hammond had only disgust. "The South has done nothing but stab herself ever since October. The Echo, the Wanderer cases & all their incidents . . . ideal impracticable & injurious all they strip us of every supporter in the free states." [76]

At least as foolish to his mind was the demand made in Congress for a Congressional slave code for the territories, yet the demand was squarely and unequivocally made.[77] What more could abolitionists ask than such a chance? Nothing else would so surely weld the North together as such

[74] Hammond to Simms, April 22, 1859.
[75] Courier, August–September, 1858; Spears, American Slave Trade, pp. 202–205.
[76] Hammond to Simms, March 13, April 22, 1859.
[77] Cong. Globe, 35th Cong., 2nd sess., pp. 1242–1243.

a proposal seriously made.[78] Nevertheless, Senator Brown's proposition was favorably received in the South and it might be well for South Carolina to notice it. Hammond turned the matter over in his mind for some months. Then, December, 1859, he drew up an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, as follows:

Amendment to the Cons of the U. S.

1. All rights to & of property of any kind which existed under the constitution or laws or customs of each or any Federal State before the adoption of this Constitution & were not surrendered by it shall be fully reconized bv the Government in all its branches; shall be in no wise impaired by any act of any Department of it; & shall be thoroughly protected in each & all of the Public Territories until a Territory by being admitted into this Union as a Sovereign State, shall become authorized & enabled to protect whatever it may see fit to declare to be property.

Congress shall have no power whether by levying taxes, imposing, duties or by any other mode or measure to discriminate between or among the industrial pursuits of the citizens of the U. S. so as specially to favor or promote any one of them.[79]

His purpose was mixed. Certainly John Brown's raid was in his mind. His proposal would completely silence all the vexatious extremists of the type of Maxcy Gregg and Yancey, and Brown, for instead of mere Congressional legislation, it would set up an amendment to the Constitution. He wanted his proposition to be an ultimatum on "what the South can stand or must dissolve," but he must have known that it was not to be fulfilled. If such a proposal could have possibly got through Congress in December, 1859, to say nothing of the chances of ratification in the States, it need really not have been offered at all. For to make it possible the North would have had to recede from every stand it then held. It was to have been offered in Congress after the election, regardless of who won. But by November, 1860, events had gone too far for it.

Hammond was, it has been shown, deeply and wisely disgusted at the conduct of the South. Added to exasperation was ill health. He was never so ill as he thought he

[78] Trescot agreed with Hammond (Trescot to Hammond, August 9, 1859).

[79] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, December 27, 1859.

was, yet he was never really well. He thought now that he was going to die. "Although every body says I look better than when I left I know I am worse. . . . My stomach & nerves are wholly out of order & have been now for six months. . . . I fear I shall never get through this, although for a few hours almost every day I feel as well as ever I did. But the fact is the world is over for me." [80]

It is then not entirely surprising to find him thinking seriously of resigning, in fact already determined upon that course. "I shall announce my resignation before October or Nov. I don't want it known just now." [81] To this there was much opposition, especially by the moderates, those whom the fire-eaters called National Democrats. He reiterated his intention still more emphatically in midsummer. Simms answered him shortly and bade him stop groaning and get to work. He paid no attention to the protestants. He had his letter of resignation written and ready to send to the legislature when John Brown's raid made his presence in Washington imperative.[82]

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[80] Ibid., April 10, 1859.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Hammond to Simms, August 15, December 19, 1859; Simms to Hammond, August 24, 1859; J. D. Ashmore to Hammond, August 25, 1859; Wm. H. Trescot to Hammond, September 1, October 25, 31, 1859; J. L. Orr to Hammond, September 17, 1859.

CHAPTER VII

Hammond in the Confederacy

Hammond had returned to Washington in December, 1858, to find the presidential election of 1860 already the absorbing topic. A year later in the House there occurred the eight-week struggle over the speakership, the contest in which the "Impending Crisis" entered so largely. Then came the Lovejoy fracas on April 5, wherein his speech caused the Speaker to resume the chair, so great was the disorder. Almost all the South Carolina delegation took part in the angry repartee.[1] Nor was the situation in the Senate much better. Davis offered and had passed resolutions [2] much like Hammond's constitutional amendment, but of course without enforcing legislation they were so much declamation. In fact, the Senate was perhaps inevitably more political than the House, so many Senators were would-be presidents.[3] Of non-political intercourse between the North and South there was absolutely none. It had been so by 1855,[4] it was still more true in 1860. Hammond himself said that social intercourse between Northern and Southern Senators had entirely ceased, and he believed that every man in both houses carried a revolver.[5]

On April 23, 1860, the Democratic convention came together in Charleston, South Carolina. There had been some discussion on the propriety of South Carolina's being represented there, for it was not her habit to take part in nominating conventions. By February the pro-convention men were holding district meetings over the State to choose

[1] Cong. Globe, 36th Cong., 1st sess., App. pp. 202–206.
[2] Ibid., pp. 658, 935.
[3] Hammond to his son, Harry Hammond, February 12, 1860.
[4] Clay, Belle of the Fifties, p. 27. Mrs. Clay was the wife of C. C. Clay, Jr., Senator from Alabama.
[5] Hammond to Francis Lieber, April 19, 1860, in Perry, Lieber, pp. 310–311; Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, April 22, 1860.

delegates[6] and were very desirous to avoid any split within the State. Lawrence Orr, head of the Conventionists, hoped those opposed to such a meeting would not fight those who attended it, as the latter did not intend to trouble those who stayed away.[7] Hammond was opposed to it, but he was not inclined to proscribe the men who went to it. He was rather contemptuous than resentful. "I am simply opposed to Conventions for nominating Presidents but if our people choose to go into them I have nothing more to say than that I am not bound."[8] The State convention when it met refused to go as far as some demanded, and stopped with declaring that a territorial government had no power to affect slavery in its limits, either directly or indirectly.[9]

It was not possible for Hammond to go to Charleston, but he kept an active finger in the Southern political pie. Douglas he considered entirely impossible for president, and he noted that others were coming to his opinion. Still he believed Douglas could name the nominee. Breckinridge was increasing in popularity, and Hammond offered to support him if he were nominated. His real preference was for Hunter of Virginia, and he worked for him, against some of his closest friends.[10] He had once in a disgusted moment called Hunter a timorous old woman, but even then he credited him with imagination and a talent for analysis, and when his hypochondriac morbidness passed, he believed Hunter abler than any other—save himself.

Hammond was mentioned for the presidency, at least vigorously enough to attract the ill will of the radical Columbia clique. He put the thought of the presidency from him, but did not underestimate either his ability or his

[6] Mercury, February 14, 24, March 15, 1860.
[7] J. L. Orr to Hammond, September 17, 1859.
[8] Hammond to Simms, April 3, 1860, to M. C. M. Hammond, April 22, 1860.
[9] Mercury, April 19, 20, 1860.
[10] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, March 9, April 22, 1860; J. B. O'Neall to Hammond, March 17, 1860; W. D. Porter to Hammond, April 12, 1860.

popularity. "The North, even the Black Republicans would take me after their favorite, or sooner at least than any Southern man."[11] Up to the very day the convention met, he was so popular in Savannah that it was thought there that he and Everett could win.[12]

The Charleston convention met April 23, according to schedule. Hammond was not unprepared for trouble, and was not disappointed. After a week of contest Alabama, according to instructions from the state convention, withdrew when the minority platform was adopted over the majority report favored of the South. Hammond at once telegraphed to the South Carolina delegation to go out if any State seconded Alabama, "& they did just what I ordered."[13] The split is usually considered as evidence of deliberate intention to destroy the Democratic party, with a view to bringing about disunion, and was so regarded at the time by some men. J. D. Ashmore thought in August that those at the head of the Charleston convention might have intended to disrupt the party in order to elect Lincoln and lead to some kind of resistance,[14] but this was at most only a conjecture, not supported by the best of evidence. The South hated Douglas, hated him as a renegade, as worse than an honest enemy. Unless the influence of passion upon people highly susceptible to it be set aside and an improbable degree of foresight attributed to them, the desire to prevent the election of Stephen A. Douglas at any hazard must be conceded a large place in whatever plan the leaders had formulated. Bolting a convention was nothing new. Yancey himself had done it in 1848.[15] In 1856 the Alabama delegation had been instructed to withdraw unless the convention adopted a satisfactory platform, and when they did

[11] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, April 10, 1859.

[12] W. Duncan to Hammond, April 23, 1860. See also Hammond papers, January–April, 1859; November, 1859; January–April, 1860, and especially the clipping book on the Barnwell speech.

[13] Diary, April 16, 1861; Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, May 11, 1860 (Misplaced in Hammond papers, Library of Congress, and now [1919] found at vol. xxx, 24706).

[14] J. D. Ashmore to Hammond, August 30, 1860.

[15] DuBose, Yancey, p. 220.

withdraw in 1860, they were "positively instructed" by the State convention to do so.[16] It was not certain that secession from the convention would set disunion in motion. A. G. Magrath, one of the first South Carolinians to resign his federal office later in the year, a man who would write quite frankly to Hammond, said only that if the seceding States used their opportunities well the split could be of great advantage to the South.[17] Hammond told Henry Lesesne that he did not believe the Richmond convention would bring disunion,[18] and as late as mid-September he said no more to an intimate friend than that he would not oppose something being done if Lincoln were elected.[19]

What Hammond thought might happen, and what really he assumed would happen, was that "there may be a row in the C[harleston] Convention. The upshot will be ['will be,' not 'may be'] the scession of the Cotton States & their nomination of Hunter or Pearce [Maryland]. . . . Then they will carry their nominee into the House next year."[20] His preference was still for Hunter. The plan, or rather the possibility, of carrying the presidential election into the House of Representatives was sanctioned by law, and by practice. The House elected Jefferson over Burr in 1801; it elected John Quincy Adams over Clay in 1825; and there were other cases in which it entered into campaign discussions. In April, 1860, Hammond was in Washington, along with other men as moderate or as far-seeing, certainly as little inclined as he to favor an abortive disunion movement. Undoubtedly they discussed the likelihood of the election going into the House. The chances of a Southern candidate were very slight, but Hammond honestly believed there was a chance, and of the

[16] The resolutions are given in full in the Montgomery Daily Mail, January 12–14, 1860, and in Murphy, Alabama and the Charleston Convention of 1860, in Ala. Hist. Soc. Pub., vol. v.

[17] A. G. Magrath to Hammond, May 2, 1860.

[18] Hammond to Henry Lesesne, May 15, 1860, in the scrapbook, Hammond MSS.

[19] Hammond to I. W. Hayne, September 19, 1860, Draft.

[20] Hammond to his son Harry Hammond, April 27, 1860.

leaders, he at least must be absolved of the guilt of plotting to destroy the convention as an aid in establishing his long-desired Southern confederacy.

When the Columbia convention met to choose delegates to Richmond, after lengthy wrangling it chose a "fire-eater" delegation headed by Rhett. Hammond exulted in the unpopularity which he discovered Rhett enjoyed. "I could give you a chapter on Rhett & his convention. I knew he was not popular . . . but out of So Ca he is as odious as ever Burr was. So much for the incarnation of disunion." [21] Naturally Hammond was confirmed in his preference for his own plan and prevented from seeing the nearness of disunion. Still better pleased was he when Rhett, seeing that he could get no approval for his radical course, gave up his political life and turned Union saver. So desirous was Rhett of support from the conservatives that he even said that discussion of separate State secession was premature.[22]

Hammond was slow to believe that Lincoln would be elected. Late in July he told J. D. Ashmore that he had some hope of success for Breckinridge and Lane.[23] As late as early June, J. B. O'Neall, Union man though he was, thought the "Black Republican party can hardly elect Abe Lincoln." [24] But the campaign went on, and in spite of the doubtful outcome Douglas refused to join Breckinridge and Bell in withdrawing for a fusion candidate.[25] It then became quite certain that Lincoln would win over the divided field and the question of consequences arose. Since 1856, to go no further back, it had been proclaimed with increasing vigor that the election of one Black Republican president would bring disunion. Hammond thought this also, though censured by those who thought, erroneously, that he said the South should submit to two such presidents. More than a

[21] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, July 4, 1860.
[22] Hammond to Simms, July 10, 1860; Wm. P. Miles to Hammond, August 5, 1860; Mercury, August 10, 18, *22*, 1860.
[23] L. M. Keitt to Hammond, August 4, 1860.
[24] J. B. O'Neall to Hammond, June 7, 1860.
[25] Davis, Rise and Fall, vol. i, p. 52.

year previously, it was the opinion of one Carolinian who had opportunity to know what he was talking about, that the masses in the State would welcome any movement looking to disunion.[26]

By mid-August the tide of secession was running high, sweeping with it much that might have resisted a normal current. "There is considerable feeling in the State[.] Orr is for dissolution."[27] More emphatic still was Porcher Miles of Charleston. "I feel very much inclined to think that it is just as well to break up things generally."[28] Faster and faster came reports of growing sentiment for secession. In Union District Ashmore found them "red-hot for separate state action. In Spartanburg quiet but looking to resistance of some kind as absolutely necessary in the event of Lincoln's election."[29] Even yet Hammond had not caught the popular drift. In September he was still giving it out that he was a candidate for the United States Senate to succeed himself in 1861. Even after secession was an accomplished fact he did not take credit to himself for having foreseen it.[30]

Along with the growing favor for immediate, and, if need be, separate secession, went, among the hotheads, a proposal to use force to prevent the inauguration of Lincoln.[31] Hammond denounced the plan vigorously and

[26] I. W. Hayne to Hammond, January 5, 1859. The attitude of the average Southerner to those who would have him wait for some overt act from Lincoln, was much like that of a friend of Hammond. "In other words—if I have been notified by a man that he will attack & kill me the first chance he has I must do nothing till he does attack me" (W. Duncan to Hammond, May 9, 1860).

[27] L. M. Keitt to Hammond, August 4, 1860.

[28] Wm. Porcher Miles to Hammond, August 5, 1860.

[29] J. D. Ashmore to Hammond, August 30, 1860; L. M. Keitt to Hammond, September 10, 1860; A. P. Aldrich to Hammond, October 4, 1860.

[30] Hammond to ————, January 18, 1861. "I had no hand in 'precipitating' the present imbroglio, because having for many years past mingled but little with my fellow citizens I thought from what I saw at Washington, that it was merely a bullying movement of the politicians."

[31] A secret association called Minute Men was formed in every district pledged to march with rifle and revolver at a minute's notice to prevent it. The plan was originated in Columbia by a

decidedly. It was treason, no less, to interfere with the inauguration before secession. It would destroy at a breath the entire constitutionality of the Southern movement. "If," said he, "anybody is for violence of any sort before secession formally declared, I must be excused the risk of a halter." "But the State being sovereign," he continued, "may secede without assigning any cause. . . . General incompatibility, the best of all grounds for a divorce, had better be pleaded." [32]

Hammond's conservatism was due solely to a belief that the people of the South outside of South Carolina were not yet in favor of disunion:

> The state of opinion and feeling outside of South Carolina. . . appears more strongly union than at any time in ten years. You can hardly see it as I see it unless you had been in Washington when the secession occurred in Charleston. . . you should have seen how the fire-eaters blenched and shrunk.[33] . . . I have never seen the day that I would not on any practicable scheme with a fair chance of success risk all I am in the effort to make a Southern Slaveholding Confederacy. . . . But nobody shall frighten me or coerce me. . . into a scheme of . . . again lowering by an abortion the character of South Carolina.[34]

In Alabama it had been decided that the Governor should summon a convention of the State forty days after it was certain that Lincoln was elected. In South Carolina Hammond, at the request of the legislature, told them what he thought the wisest course. He was not sure secession was the wisest course: and he would insist that the Constitu-

younger brother of P. S. Brooks. Lamar, Butler, Jennings were in it and Rhett, Pickens and J. H. Adams were probably at the bottom of it. In Edgefield alone there were more than four hundred members. By October the supporters of it were so bold that its emblem, a blue cockade, was sometimes seen on the street (G. D. Tillman to Hammond, October 9, 1860).

[32] Hammond to I. W. Hayne, September 19, 1860, to Simms, September 23, 1860.

[33] There was even some Union sentiment in South Carolina, though it was not great or influential. F. Asbury Mood, a preacher in the upper districts of the State, said that "in the upper Districts of South Carolina at least the majority are far from believing that we reap only misfortune & injury in the Union & that prosperity & blessing is to be found only in South Carolina setting up for herself" (F. Asbury Mood to Hammond, November 2, 1860).

[34] Hammond to I. W. Hayne, September 19, 1860, to Simms, September 23, 1860.

tion of the United States as it stood be adopted by the new Confederacy as its constitution. He said he feared demagogues within more than enemies without.[35] Undoubtedly Hammond's plan, or any plan short of immediate secession was, as he said, "behind the times" by November 7, 1860. When the election returns were in, Charleston was unanimous for undelayed separate secession, so much so, that when it seemed that the legislature would call the convention for January 15, a demand was made and heeded that it meet earlier. Chesnut resigned from the Senate December 10. Toombs of Georgia and Judge Magrath also resigned.[36] Hammond resigned. Ever since he went to the Senate he had been getting more and more out of touch with the common people of South Carolina. His long seclusion had dulled him more than he realized. By resigning as he did he made himself the leader of South Carolina in the direction in which she clearly insisted upon going. It was as certain as any thing in the future can be that the Convention a month later would secede. His resignation reinstated him at once in popular favor.[37] Although he could not accept, he was invited at

[35] Will S. Mullins, Henry Buist, John Cunningham, R. B. Rhett, Jr., John E. Carew, James Simons, G. Gannon, W. D. Porter, A. P. Aldrich to Hammond, November 6, 1860; Hammond to the South Carolina Legislature, October 15, 1860, Autograph Draft Signed; to A. P. Aldrich et al., November 8, 1860, A. Df. S.; to M. C. M. Hammond, November 12, 1860. Crawford, in his Genesis of the Civil War, p. 14, has the statement that on October 25, 1860, there was a meeting at Redcliffe of the Congressional delegation and Gist, Adams and Orr, which meeting unanimously resolved to secede in the event of Lincoln's election. Crawford is, so far as I have been able to discover, the only authority for this statement, and he does not say whence he got his information. Against its correctness is the negative evidence that there is not the least mention of it in the Hammond papers even to Simms or to Marcellus, or in the Diary. More important is the fact that it was contrary to his course in the past, and in the immediate future, and to his categorical statement, that he had had no hand in precipitating the event. I incline very strongly to doubt that Crawford is correct, but I should like to know what authority he had for it.

[36] James Chesnut to Hammond, November 10, 1860; W. D. Porter to Hammond, November 11, 1860; Mercury, November 8, 1860.

[37] B. T. Watts, to Hammond, November 13, 1860; W. D. Porter to Hammond, November 16, 1860.

once to speak at the meetings which were held all over the State.[88] His advice was that they hope, as he was doing, for the best, and keep carefully within the law and the Constitution.

Another thing which he emphasized in all the letters to the committees was the importance of having the seceding State or States immediately adopt the United States Constitution, without changes. He had told the South Carolina legislature the same thing, and it only goes to show that, however the North and the average historian up to recently denied it, the South honored and respected the Constitution. But they must be its guardians and interpreters.

With the close of 1860 and the decision of South Carolina to secede, Hammond's public life came to its end. "For me," he said, "I am *out*. Whatever of reputation may survive me rests on what I have done."[89] Towards the future his attitude was so unapprehensive that he was rather certain than even serenely hopeful. Even the highest hope implies a little doubt. Hammond was confident that the Confederacy was going to succeed. "The terms of the treaty to be made with the North will depend on Northern behavior."[40] He gave the new Confederate government

[88] Edward Noble to Hammond, November 15, 1860; R. F. Simpson to Hammond, November 15, 1860; James J. Boyd et al., to Hammond, November 15, 1860; Hammond to Pendleton and to Spartanburg Committees, November 22, 1860; Columbus Meeting committee to Hammond, November 20, 1860; Hammond to W. H. Mitchell et al., November 22, 1860, Draft Signed.

[89] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, February 3, 1861; "Why do you trouble yourself so much about what they do in Charleston? Why, I have not written a letter to or received one from any member of the Convention during its Session nor have I had any political communication with any member of the Legislature during its regular session" (Hammond to Simms, February 6, 23, 1861). He was much pressed to go to the Confederate Senate, and could certainly have done so, had his health permitted. There was a very strong movement to make him governor in 1862, but again he refused to consider it (Courier, November 25, 1862).

[40] Hammond to A. B. Allen, February 2, 1861, Draft. Allen was a New York merchant and agricultural publisher, who had a large Southern trade. He had written to Hammond since secession: "Why did not Buchanan Pierce & their cowardly brawling profligate

his approval to an unusual degree when he wrote to Simms as follows:

> With what calm dignity & profound ability have all the Conventions managed the movement & to crown it all, see the Federal Convention inaugurating a Provisional Govt. that worked & then making a Permanent Constitution that reforms almost all the abuses of the U. S. Cons. . . & is really a masterpiece. All honor & glory to that wise & noble Convention.[41]

By early summer, Hammond's health broke down completely. He was usually, it must be confessed, grumbling about expecting to die in a month or so, but this time he was less bitter and more specific. He told Simms casually that his wife and his son Spann had read Lincoln's inaugural to him. "My eyes grow gradually weaker & I have the almost certain prospect of blindness close at hand."[42] That summer he went to the Virginia Springs, but it did not benefit his health.[43]

Throughout the war, and in spite of his invalidism, he was much interested in economic matters. Letter after letter he wrote on finance, to Toombs, to Davis, to Memminger, but he may have sent only a few of them. The gist of them all was that planters never had or ought to have ready money on hand, but that he would turn in his railroad stock for Confederate loan at par. He thought all Confederate bonds and treasury notes should be based on stock or produce deposited, or at least on mortgaged land and negroes, and he would mortgage all he had. Even so early as this he saw in the reluctance of people to give up specie a source of extreme danger and possible collapse.

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supporters make the North do its constitutional duty. . . . It is *they & they alone who have brot the country to this miserable pass*" (A. B. Allen to Hammond, January 22, 1861).

[41] Hammond to Simms, March 24, 1861; "A Southern Confederacy has been the cherished dream and hope of my life. Yet it has been accomplished without apparent agency of mine. . . .I did not see how the movement could succeed, and fully believed that So Ca would again have to 'eat dirt'. . . God's work. For Good, I have no doubt. I do homage, however uninspired, igorant and left out of the record" (Hammond to J. D. Ashmore, April 8, 1861, Draft).

[42] Hammond to Simms, March 5, May 1, 1861.

[43] Passport signed by the Secretary of War, L. P. Walker, July 26, 1861.

"People don't seem to understand that if for want of money the Government went down, everything would go down."[44]

The formation of the Confederate States caused him to modify and eventually to change completely his views on another important subject, the tariff. "A thoroughly free trade man in the late union I am not so in the Confederate Union," he told Simms before the firing on Sumter.[45] About taxes Hammond was vigorously fluent. Because the act of August 19, 1861,[46] had proved unsatisfactory in method and insufficient in amount, a decidedly searching and stringent tax was levied on all that a man had or did or made.[47] Hammond reappeared from Redcliffe with a vigorous, caustic letter to R. M. T. Hunter, member of the finance committee of the Confederate Congress. The bill was "crude & inquisitorial," full of "preposterous absurdities . . . impracticable." "Some malign influence seems to preside over your councils. Pardon me, is the majority *always* drunk."[48]

Throughout the war Hammond showed an unreasoning bitterness against Jefferson Davis. From the time they had met in the United States Senate he had believed Davis was trying to be president of the United States. "He is the most irascible man I ever knew. . . . Quick tempered, arbitrary overbearing he is lost when excited, & is easily excited. . . . He has no breadth of political views or solid judgement about them."[49]

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[44] Hammond to Toombs, 24, 1861, Draft, month not given, but probably May; to Memminger, May 24, 1861, Df., May, 1861, Df., to Jefferson Davis, May 26, 1861, Df., to Toombs, June 8, 1861, Df.; Endorsement on Davis draft, by Spann Hammond; Hammond to W. D. Porter, June 16, 1861, Autograph Draft Signed; "A Countryman" (Hammond) Courier' August–September, 1861; "A Back Countryman" (Hammond), Mercury, October 5, 1862.

[45] Hammond to Simms, March 23, 1861; to H. V. Johnson, September 12, 1861.

[46] South Carolina Acts, December 21, 1861; Courier, December 24, 1861, January 8, 15, November 27, 1862; Schwab, Confederate States of America, p. 289.

[47] Act of April 24, 1863, Public Laws, C. S. A., 1863–1864. It is well summarized in Schwab, pp. 291–293.

[48] Hammond to R. M. T. Hunter, April 9, 1863.

[49] Hammond to I. W. Hayne, April 21, 1861, Draft.

In April, 1862, occurred the battle of Shiloh, the loss of Island No. 10, and Farragut's exploit of opening the Mississippi through New Orleans. On May 1, Norfolk with the Navy Yard fell into Union hands. It does not appear how it could have been avoided; yet said Hammond, "If Davis had been bribed to abort our effort to achieve our liberties, he could not without help from abler heads, have acted so effectively for infamous purpose." [50]

Through the war Hammond often had trouble with Confederate officials. In the spring of 1862, at a very bad time for planting, he was ordered to send down his negro men with tools and equipment to Shell Bluff to work on fortifications. He replied that the place selected had no advantages and was probably the worst place on the river that could have been selected.[51] His prime fellows were taken and worked on the fortifications under fire. His corn they bought at less than current prices, and then tried to back out because the boat could not get up the river.[52] The summer of 1864, the last of Hammond's life, brought an acute conflict with the Quartermaster's Department. Hammond had offered the army for $10.00 corn for which he was then getting $15.00, only to have it impressed at $5.00. He protested and both sides agreed to an appraisal. A board of three fixed on $10.00 After removing the corn, Captain Hanckel appealed from the decision of the

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[50] Hammond to Simms, May 17, 1862, December 14, 1863; see also Hammond to Simms, May 1, November 26, 1862, January 6, 1863, June 13, 1864; Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, August 11, March 24, 1862, October 6, 1863; to J. L. Orr, January 10, Draft, December 11, 1863, Autograph Draft Signed, January 8, 1864, A. Df. S.

[51] Miller B. Grant to Hammond, March 3, 1862; Hammond to Miller B. Grant, March 3, 1862, Draft; to Col. G. W. Rains, May 21, 1862, Autograph Draft Signed.

[52] Hammond to James Chestnut, April 20, May 30, 1862, Draft; to Gen. Pemberton, April 28, May 29, 1862, Df.; to Gen. Ripley, April 30, May 8, 1862, Df.; J. C. Pemberton to Hammond, May 23, 1862; Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, May 5, 1862; to Simms, July 10, June 13, 1862; M. S. Hanckel to Hammond, August 7, 15, September 6, 12, 19, 1862; Hammond to M. C. Hanckel, August 12, September 17, 18, 1862.

appraisers, and was sustained on $5.00, "thereby robbing me of $12,000 outright."[53]

It would be an immense mistake to judge Hammond's attitude to the South, ever beloved, still beloved, by his opinion of Davis, or his treatment of an arbitrary, inflated Captain of Quartermasters. As soon as the war began he cut his cotton crop to the bone in order to plant corn for the army. At once he subscribed two hundred bales of cotton for Confederate States defence.[54] What he had to sell, he sold at cost. "I have not made & do not intend to make a farthing by the war if I can help it."[55] He sold provisions, bacon and corn and salt, so hard to get, freely and cheaply to all his small neighbors when they were almost unobtainable elsewhere. By 1864 half his Edgefield estate consisted of Confederate bonds. At his death he owned only land, negroes, and C. S. securities.[56] His own loved Redcliffe escaped Sherman's attention in his march north from Savannah, though for a time it was in danger. Thither "refugeed" family and friends and acquaintances from Charleston and the devastated regions, and in those trying days his hospitality included the sending of a carriage to Augusta every day to meet trains whether he expected anyone or not.[57]

The reverses of 1864 affected him deeply. He seemed to go to pieces at the fall of Atlanta. "He seemed not simply desirous but determined not to be a witness to what he was powerless to prevent, & as if he sought & hastened his death, not by any act, but by force of will."[58] The day before he died he called to him his son Spann who alone of his children was with him.

"'Over in the woods,' pointing the direction, 'are two

[53] Hammond papers, June–August, 1864.
[54] T. F. Drayton to Hammond, July 11, 1861.
[55] Hammond to J. L. Orr, December 11, 1863, Autograph Draft Signed.
[56] Paul Hammond, Memoirs of J. H. Hammond p. 13, Autograph document of 1864 (sheet No. 25096) in Hammond papers.
[57] Clay, Belle of the Fifties, p. 217.
[58] Undated note by Major Spann Hammond.

large hickory trees. . . . They are notable trees, larger than any others around. . . . I wish to be buried near those trees . . . on the highest ground around. . . . But mind,' he uttered it with thrilling earnestness, looking at me & pointing his finger, 'if we are subjugated, run a plow over my grave.' He . . . repeated again most impressively the last injunction." [59]

The man who lay dead in the library of Redcliffe had been a fine-looking man. In his youth he had been distinctly handsome, tall and slender. To his dress there is only one reference. He himself speaks of it not at all. An unfriendly newspaper, commenting on his "Cotton is King" speech in the Senate, speaks of seeing there a tall, long-legged person, bald, spectacled, dressed in black, with his legs stretched at length on the top of his desk like a gorged boa-constrictor.[60] In later years, as his friends admitted, he became a little too stout.[61]

As an orator his powers are known to have been good, although he never aimed at oratorical display. "His conversational powers were something more than excellent, they were brilliant . . . there were few admitted to his intimacy who did not feel the spell of his musical voice." [62]

To an unusual degree Hammond was sure of himself, of his ability to guide and to rule. "Could I count on *myself*. Had I confidence that stomach & by consequence, nerve & muscle were at any time under my control, I would throw every obstacle right & left as a lion shakes the dew drops from his name, & rule this world." [63]

"With the help of God & tolerable health I could guide the state & the South through all their present difficulties.

[59] [Ed. Spann Hammond] to [Harry Hammond], November 15, 1864.

[60] Undated clipping from the Boston Traveller, in the clipping book, evidently referring to this speech.

[61] Perry, Reminiscences, pp. 108–111.

[62] Paul F. Hammond, Memoir of J. H. Hammond, p. 14, quoting remarks by Jas. R. Randall after Hammond's death. Randall was the author of "Maryland, my Maryland." He married Hammond's niece. Also Simms in the Mercury, November 28, 1864.

[63] Diary, October 9, 1857.

And if there is another man who could do it I do not know him—he is unknown now."[64] In that vein he speaks throughout his life.

He had not—and probably his self-confidence was a reason—the gift of making close and intimate friends. Of all the people with whom he came into contact, only his brother Marcellus and Gilmore Simms were really close to him. He considered his mother censorious,[65] his wife, though loving, unable to appreciate him.[66] Simms and the Major stood by him, when he was in trouble or disfavor or disgrace. He helped Simms with money and aid when he was sick and poor. He got Marcellus into West Point in his youth and stood by ever after. His children he loved dearly, though his morbid temper makes him speak bitterly of them at times. The boys were a disappointment, for when he set them up as planters they wasted his money and disobeyed his advice, but the welfare of his large family was the object of much solicitude and care.[67]

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[64] Ibid., December 14, 1850.

[65] Hammond to M. C. M. Hammond, March 20, 1849.

[66] Diary, December 15, 1850.

[67] Harry was born in 1832, Christopher in 1833, Edward Spann in 1834, William Cashel in 1835, Charles Julius in 1836, Paul F. in 1838, Katherine in 1840, Elizabeth in 1849. While they were small he was always hunting tutors for them, and his moving to Columbia in 1841 was done to put them to school. He wrote to Simms: "Betty is still the brightest creature in the world. . . .Cattie. . .is not deficient in beauty, & the most modest & purest creature."

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W. B. Seabrook MSS. Library of Congress. Of some real use.

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